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(Refer to Lily Shrivastav's Article)

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SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE ĀŚVALĀYANA GṚHYA PARIŚIṢṬA AND THE BHĀṢYA OF DEVASVĀMIN

By

S. S. MOHANTY*

The *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Pariśiṣṭa* (*ĀP*) was referred to by Garga Nārāyaṇa (11th Century A.D.), the commentator on the *Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra.* It was also referred to by different texts of this school from 10th Century A.D. onwards.[1] However the *bhāṣya* of Devasvāmin, written earlier than 10th Century A.D.,[2] has no direct evidence that Devasvāmin knew the *ĀP.* It is noteworthy that a large area of Devasvāmin's comments and the narration of the rites and ceremonies in the *ĀP* remain apart from one another. While Devasvāmin, being a Commentator, usually intends to interpret the Sūtra-text in the changed situations of his

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1 *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Pariśiṣṭa*, ed. K. P. AITHAL, *The Adyar Library Pamphlet Series*, XXXVI. Madras, 1964, pp. 17-19.

2 *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra* with commentary of Devasvāmin and *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Pariśiṣṭa*, ed. K. P. AITHAL, Adyar Library Series, Vol. III, Madras, 1980. Used for reference to the *ĀGS* and the commentary of Devasvāmin in this paper.

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time, the *ĀP*, being a *Pariśiṣṭa*, displays its liberty to freely add the new developments without seeking much roots in the Sūtra-text itself. Never-the-less, few remarks of Devasvāmin are significant for presuming his position in relation to the *ĀP*.

I. It is believed that the *Sīmantonnayana* was originally a marriage rite but subsequently it came to be regarded as a separate ceremony connected with pregnancy and child birth.[3] Hence, it is performed only during the first pregnancy. During the period of the early *Gṛhya Sūtras* even, it seems that the connection of this ceremony with the marriage was not totally severed. Possibly for this reason, the *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra* (*ĀGS*) I.14.1f. did not need to specify the scope of this ceremony in the first pregnancy.

The *ĀP* in this connection mentions *Vyākhyātam sīmantonnayanam prathame garbhe* " the *Sīmantonnayana* (ceremony) has been narrated which is performed in the first pregnancy " (*ĀP* Kāṇḍikā (K)-X).

Devasvāmin analyses the term *Sīmantonnayana* in the Sūtra-text and concludes that there is no need to add *prathame* in it, He argues that from the designation of this ceremony as ' *Simantonnayana* ' " parting hair " is *pradhāna* " important " here. The consecration of the progeny is a *guṇavidhi* " subordinate injunction ". Once the womb is consecrated by the performance of this ceremony, the subsequent pregnancies do not fall short of this ceremony because womb is the seat of all pregnancies.[4] Hence, the *ĀP* and the commentary of Devasvāmin consider the *Sīmantonnayana* as an independent ceremony performed in connection with pregnancy and child birth only.

II. For giving name to a newly born child no separate day except that of the birth was prescribed in the *ĀGS* (I.15.3ff.). The commentators and later authors of this school however show eagerness to postpone it for some other day.[5]

The *ĀP* (K.V) maintains that name should be given (to a newly born child) on the eleventh day after birth or after hundred nights or one year or on any day which is considered as suitable.

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3 According to WINTERNITZ, the *Sīmantonnayana* was performed for easy delivery and prosperity of the child. But GONDA traces the original of this caremony in marriage. See M. WINTERNITZ, " Nejamesha, Naigamesha, Nemeso ", *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, London, 1895, pp. 151 ff. See also J. GONDA, " The Sīmantonnayana as described in the Gṛhya Sūtras, " *Selected Studies*, Vol. IV, Leiden, 1975, pp. 186-206.

4. AITHAL, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-78.

5. Cf. S. S. MOHANTY, *Ceremony for Child in the Āśvalāyana School*, Thesis (typed), Poona, 1984, pp. 91-92, 211-12, 252 fn. 121.

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Devasvāmin mentions that the word *dadyuḥ* " (they) give " in the sūtra (*ĀGS* I.15.4) ' *nāma cāsmai dadyuḥ*, ' is interpreted by some in the sense *dhārayeyuḥ* " (they) bear (in mind). " Hence, the name of the child is decided on the day of birth and it is actually given according to one's tradition. Some have the tradition of name giving after ten nights, some after twelve nights, some after hundred nights or one year.[6]

III. In connection with the *Samāvartana* ceremony, when the student is asked to put fire-sticks into the fire, the *ĀGS* III.8.2 prescribes the mantra " *smṛtam nindā ca . . . . smṛtam vratam* " to be recited by him. Here Devasvāmin comments :

> *smṛtam ca ma ityādinā sarvavrato bhavāmi*
> *svāhetyevamantena mantreṇa samidhamādadhāti.*[7]

Although reciting this mantra in this manner is prescribed in the *ĀPMP* II.5.2.f., Devasvāmin does not refer to any other text. Aithal in his critical edition of the *ĀGS* mentions the mantra ' *smṛtam ca me asmṛtam ca me tanma ubhayavratam* in the bracket before the mantra *smṛtam nindā ca*, etc. in the Sūtra and comments:

> This *mantra* (i.e. in the bracket) is not mentioned in the MS. But from the *bhāṣya* it appears that it should be in the Sūtra. So it is in practice as well as in all *prayoga* texts. Nārāyaṇa also notes that the *mantra* is to be read in this way.[8]

In this connection, the *ĀP* (K. XII) mentions :

> ' *smṛtam ca me asmṛtam ca me tanma ubhayavratam* '
> *iti evamuttareṣu padeṣu vadet.*

Here the *ĀP* clearly mentions the mode of recitation which is followed by Devasvāmin and others. Thus possibly Devasvāmin was aware of the prescription in the *ĀP* or any similar text. In this case, it will not be necessary to correct the Sūtra-text in the manner suggested by Aithal.

Reśumè :

From the above discussion it is observed that the early developments of the Āśvalāyana school in domestic ceremonies were recorded in the *ĀP* and the *bhāṣya* of Devasvāmin. Possibly Devasvāmin knew some earlier text like the *ĀP* which recorded the progressive views in the period posterior to the Sūtra-text.

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6. AITHAL, *op. cit.*, p 85.
7. AITHAL, *op. cit.*, p. 212.
8. *Loc. cit.*, fn. 1.

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CRITICAL PATH METHOD APPLIED TO AŚVAMEDHA SACRIFICE

By

R. P. KULKARNI*

Introduction :

The critical path method is a powerful dynamic tool for the planning and management of all types of projects. The application of this method to the activities related to the preparations prior to the performance of an Aśvamedha sacrifice is given here.

Performance of many Aśvamedha and other sacrifices by Indian Kings :

Aśvamedha sacrifice which might be the earliest complex sacrifice, as one complete *Maṇḍala* of the *Ṛgveda* is devoted to it, used to be performed by many Indian emperors. The loftiest ambition of an Indian king, in ancient as well as in medieval period, was to perform Aśvamedha sacrifice so as to proclaim his sovereignty all over India. The Indian Emperors used to conduct Aśvamedha sacrifice and other types of sacrifices many times during their reigns. It is mentioned, in *Mahābhārata*, that the son of king Mahābhauma was named as Ayutaynāyī because he performed one *ayuta* of Puruṣamedha sacrifices (1.90.19).[1] The Ikṣvāku king Mahābhiṣa is said to have performed thousand numbers of Aśvamedha and hundred numbers of Vājapeya sacrifices. (1.91.1-2).[2] There are many inscriptional evidences to show that Indian kings, of medieval period, performed a number of different sacrifices including Aśvamedha. King Pravarasena I, not content with sacrifices such as Vājapeya, Agniṣṭoma, Āptoryāma etc. performed as many as four Aśvmadha sacrifices. In the inscriptions of his successors, Pravarasena is styled as ' *Caturāśvamedhayājin.*' [3]

The Bhāraśivas are credited with taking not less than ten sacred baths (*Avabhṛthasnāna*) on their completion of horse sacrifices.[4]

Several śrauta sacrifices were performed in post-Mauryan period. Patañjali [5] refers to Agniṣṭoma,[6] Rājasūya,[7] Aśvamedha and several domestic sacrifices [8] performed by Puṣyamitra Śuṅga.

In C. P. inscriptions of Vākāṭaka queen Prabhādevī Guptā, Samudragupta is described as the performer of many horse sacrifices (*anekāśvamedha-yājin*).[9]

Viṣṇukuṇḍin king named Mādhava-varman, ruler of Āndhra country, is said to have performed eleven Aśvamedhas and one thousand Agniṣtomas (or other sacrifices), as given in Chikulla, Ramatirtham, Ipur and Polamaru plates.[10]

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* B-15/3 CDO Quarters, MERI-CDO Colony, Nasik-422004.

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Pulakeśin I performed Aśvamedha, Agniṣṭoma, Agni-cayana, Vājapeya, Bahu-suvarṇa and Puṇḍarīka sacrifices.[11]

Ample evidence is given above to show that from ancient to medieval period, Indian kings used to perform number of different complex sacrifices including many numbers of Aśvamedha sacrifices during their reigns.

The structures for sacrificial ceremony were permanent :

Information regarding preperations made prior to the performance of Aśvamedha sacrifice is given in the thirteenth *Sarga* of *Bālakāṇḍa* of Vālmīki *Rāmāyaṇa*. In *Āśvamedhika Parvan* of *Mahābhārata* also this information is given. The skilled persons that are required for making preperations are : (i) *Ṛtvijas* and learned brahmins that are expert in conducting sacrifices as complex as Aśvamedha; (ii) *Sthapatis*, *Karmāntikas*, *Śilpins*, *Vardhakis* and others; (iii) Accountants; (iv) Actors, dancers and the like. In addition a large number of unskilled labour is required.[12, 13] It is to be noted that in both the epics, *sthapatis*, learned engineers, are mentioned as men responsible for the construction of the edifices required for the sacrifice. Further the word *sthapati* is mentioned in plural. It means that many engineers were required to be employed for this purpose. One of the reasons for employing so many *sthapatis* for the construction of different structures is that these may be permanent structures and not the temporary ones. Both the epics give the idea of different types of buildings that are required to be constructed. These are those directly connected with the sacrifice itself like pavilions for the three fire-places, *Sadas*, *Havirdhāna*, *Patnīśālā*, *Āgnidhra* etc. In addition road leading to the sacrificial ground is also constructed.[14] These pavilions used to be adorned with golden designs of creepers etc. Use of gems was also made for this purpose. In *Mahābhārata* it is described that everything that was connected with the sacrifice was made of gold. This description of sacrifices indicates that these were permanent structures. It is also shown above that a king would conduct many sacrifices during his reign. It is natural that he would prefer to construct these buildings of permanent nature.

A small township, say a sacrificial township, on the lines of Olympic township, used to be constructed as described in these epics. The structures were permanent requiring engineers and their technical skill. These structures are : (i) Hundreds of houses for *ṛtvijas* and learned brahmins attending the sacrificial ceremony; (ii) Palatial houses with moats and rampart walls for accommodating invited and subjugated kings and their large retinues including shelters for their horses, elephants etc. These are to be constructed as separate structures for each king. (iii) Houses for warriors and men of kṣatriya caste which may be acting as security personnel and may be in charge of large groups of labour force. (iv) Houses along with stores for people of merchant class who might be doing brisk

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business in gold, gems and other precious materials with the invited kings. Houses for merchants who may come to sell many types of different commodities to the large crowd of common people coming from different countries to attend the sacrifice. Provision of different bazaars for selling various wares, as in a *jatrā*, is required to be made. (v) In addition to these, large dormitories, *dharmaśālās*, to accommodate other common people would have to be made. (vi) Large store-houses to store precious materials, food grains and other materials required for sacrificial purpose as well as for the construction of this township are required, i.e. *kupyagṛhas* and *kośagṛhas* as mentioned in *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*. This town is to be constructed with separate residential zones for rich, poor and common people, commercial complexes, bazaars including store-houses. The layout of the town with wide roads, efficient drainage and water-supply systems etc. so as to arrange for the residence of large numbers of people, in comfort, for short duration has to be developed.[15] These structures are of permanent nature. The king performing the sacrifice would try his best to make a show of his wealth and do it with proper pomp. An eminent example is that of Mayasabhā that was constructed when Pāṇḍavas performed Rājasūya sacrifice. The palatial residences for kings invited to attend Rājasūya sacrifice of Yudhiṣṭhira are described in *Mahābhārata* which also indicate that these were permanent structures.[16]

It is shown above that the kings in India used to conduct many types of complicated sacrifices like Aśvamedha and others. A small township of permanent structures to accommodate invited kings and large crowd of common people with all the facilities, including security arrangement, used to be constructed. In a paper, by the author, entitled, 'Management of Sacrificial Ceremonies of Ancient India,'[17] the complexity of management of sacrifice is described and it is shown that unless highly developed managerial skills were evolved during Vedic period, it was not possible to perform a series of very complex and large sacrifices, in a methodical and smooth manner as described in Śrauta-sūtras. One of the management tool is the Critical Path Method. It may have been used in the rudimentary form at the Vedic and medieval period as it is not possible to conduct those complex and large sacrifices without utilising it. This method, as applied to the preparations prior to the performance of an Aśvamedha sacrifice, is described here

The Critical Path Method :

The C.P.M. is essentially the representation of a project plan by a schematic diagram or network that depicts the sequence and inter-relation of all the component parts of the project, and the logical analysis and manipulation of this net-work in determining the best overall program of operation. The critical path diagram clearly indicates the site operations that control the smooth execution of the works.

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A fully developed critical path network is a logical mathematical model of the project, based upon the optimum time required for each work process and making the most economical use of available resources like labour, equipment, finance etc. During the execution of the project it permits systematic reviewing of current situations as they arise, so that allowance can be made for the effects of the uncertainties in the original planning, as well as enabling a revaluation of future uncertainties to be made, and remedial measures initiated for those operations and only for those operations—that require correction or acceleration.

The network diagram clearly shows the process whose completion times are responsible for establishing the overall duration of the complete project, these *critical operations* must be kept 'on time all the time.' Together they form a connected pathway of operations through the net-work, this is the *critical path* through the project. All other operations have some way in starting and finishing dates, and may be arranged, within limits, to smooth out man-power and equipment required. The use of CPM enables the most economical planning of all operations to meet desirable completion dates.

The CPM applied to Aśvamedha sacrifice :

The activities and their sequence for the preparations prior to the performance of a complicated sacrifice like Aśvamedha could be delineated as given below :

(1) Search for a suitable site satisfying the specifications of a sacrificial site, particularly with reference to the availability of abundant water in the form of a perennial river or a lake.

(2) Acquire the land for sacrificial ceremony as well as for the township to be constructed near-by.

(3) Employment of skilled men : (a) *Ṛtvija*s and brahmins learned in performing the sacrifice; (b) *Sthapati*s with their assistants like *Sūtragrāhi*, *Takṣaka*, *Vardhaki* and *Karmi*s, and also Coppersmiths, Ironsmiths, Goldsmiths and other skilled persons.

(4) Design the layout of sacrificial ground and the township.

(5) Collection of materials for sacrifice, from infinite numbers of bundles of *darbha* grass to the horse of required specifications for sacrifice.

(6) Collection of construction materials like wood, stone, lime, sand etc., and the implements like pick axes, phavras etc.

(7) Employ group of labourers, animals from different villages and towns by rotation. It may be noted that king was entitled to employ men, skilled and unskilled, for a period of one month in a year without paying them any wages except the food.[18] This entails calculations of proper numbers of men for a particular period for a particular job in which they are skilled so as to avoid the

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payment of wages in addition to giving them food, thus decreasing substantially the cost of construction.

(8) Transport of men, materials and animals to the site for the construction of a colony.

(9) Construction of a small colony for the accommodation of the work-force employed for the construction of sacrificial edifices and the township. This will also include building of large store-houses for storing food-grains and other construction materials, i.e. *kupyagṛha*s as described in *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* and one or two *kośagṛha*s. A large quantity of grains and other food-stuff are required to be stored as it forms the main commodity of payment to the labourers. These store houses could be utilized later to store grains and other materials required for the people attending the ceremony of sacrifice later.[19]

(10) To give the layout of sacrificial pavilions.

(11) To give the layout of township.

(12) Construction of the sacrificial pavilions.

(13) Construction of the township.

(14) Occupation of the township and beginning of the sacrifice.

These are the essential and bare minimum steps of activities for preparations prior to the performance of a complicated and large sacrifice. Separate network diagrams may be needed for programming large activities like construction of pavilions for sacrificial ceremony and building of the sacrificial township. For the sake of simplicity these details are not dealt herewith. The network diagram covering the above activities is shown in Fig. 1.

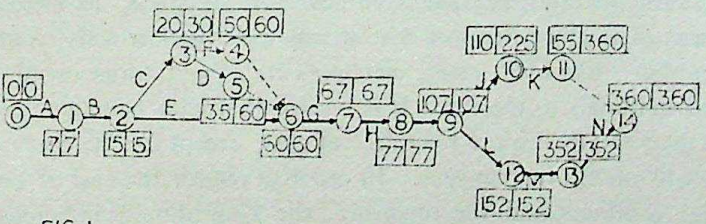

FIG. 1

Critical Path Network

A Search the site (7)
B Aquire the site (8)
C Appoint Ṛtvijas & sthapatis (5)
D Construction of Township (15)
E Collect sacrificial material (45)
F Design the layout (30)
G Employ labour (180)
H Transport men, animals
I Construct colony (30)
J Layout of sacrificial edifices (3)
K Construction of edifices (45)
L Layout of township (45)
M Construction of township (180)
N Occupation of township (8)

The critical path is 0-1-2-6-7-8-9-12-13-14.

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The next step is to calculate the time required for each activity and to get the idea of the time restraints for a particular activity. In fig. 1 the earliest finish time (EFT) is given in the left side of the ' time box ' adjacent to that event. On the right side of this box is given the latest finish time (LFT) permissible for each event if the project is to be completed by the EFT of the final event. In table 1 earliest and latest start times (EST and LST) as well as earliest and latest finish times (EFT and LFT) from the data on the network diagram are given. Total float (TF), latitude in time to finish that activity, is calculated from this data and given in the table. From this critical activities, that is activities without total float, are determined and the critical path of activities as shown in fig. 1, by thick lines, is obtained.

Labour force is generally not available during the rainy season and say a month earlier when activities in preparation to sowing are in full swing. For Aśvamedha sacrifice the time available for the preparations prior to the beginning of the sacrifice is one year, in which year the sacrificial horse is allowed to roam different countries.[20] It may, therefore, be assumed that the shortest time available is 360 days. One year is the minimum period available for all these construction activities described above. The network prepared, therefore, is for crash program and will entail maximum cost. The cost of these activities would decrease if the duration in which these activities are to be completed is increased by one or two more years. It is shown below that the cost of these activities decreases considerably with the increase in the duration.

From ancient to medieval period, a king is not required to pay the cost of the construction materials like wood, stones, earth, lime etc., as these are available in nature. The main items of cost of any construction activity were labour, beast of burden (like bulls, asses, elephants etc.,) and transportation of men, animals and materials to the site. It is known that men belonging to all guilds are to give their services to the king, free of cost, except for the cost of food, for a period of one month in one year. In order to reduce the cost of construction of sacrificial pavilions and the township, the king should judiciously get the numbers of men distributed through out the year such that men from different villages are not to work for a period more than one month. Thus the services of men are available at the cost of food only that is to be provided to them and any additional expenditure by way of payment of wages need not be made. The cost of preparation of implements as well as that of transportation, both being dependent on the labour employed, could be reduced suitably. In case of crash program, as majority of able bodied men would be employed in army so as to fight the battles to subjugate the kings, number of men available as labourers would be small and many of them would have to be employed for a period more than one month. The expenditure due to the payment of their wages would,

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therefore, be more if the above mentioned activities are to be completed within the same year in which the horse is released to roam. Scheduling of employment of numbers of men with reference to time will have to be done rather judiciously for decreasing the cost even for the crash program.

In case these activities are spread over a period of two or three years then a large and unpaid (i.e. to whom wages need not be paid) labour force is available in the years earlier to the year when the sacrificial horse is released to roam, and correspondingly the cost of these activities could be lessened considerably.

The total cost of completing an activity could be divided into two groups. The first group of costs that are dealt with above, are those directly related to the individual activity and are generally variable with duration as shown above. They are classed as direct costs. The second group comprises of the indirect costs i.e. the administration and supervision charges. They are assessed for the entire project, are not related to the individual activity-durations and generally vary approximately linearly with the project time.

Fig. 2 gives the idea as to how to determine the most economical project duration including the direct and the indirect project costs.

Remarks :

From the critical path network it is seen that the critical path covers the activities concerning the construction of the township and not those dealing with the building of the sacrificial pavilions. It would, therefore, be a good policy to complete the construction of the sacrificial township one year earlier and to begin the building of the sacrificial pavilions in the year when the horse is released to roam the countries. The final finishing touches to both the types of structures may be given a few months before the beginning of the Aśvamedha sacrifice.

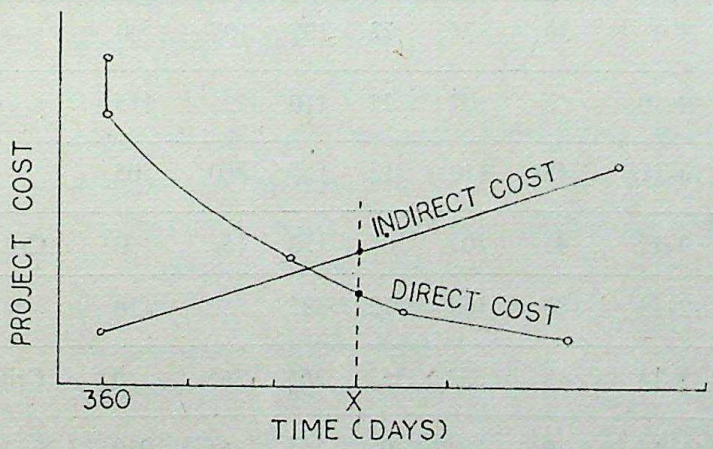

FIG. 2

OPTIMUM TIME = X DAYS

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TABLE I

Calculations to determine Critical Path

Activity		Duration (days)	EST	LST	EFT	LFT	TE (LFT-EFT)	Remarks
Item	Arrow							
A	0-1	7	0	0	7	7	0	Critical
B	1-2	8	7	7	15	15	0	Critical
C	2-3	5	15	25	20	30	10	—
D	3-5	15	20	45	35	60	25	—
E	2-6	45	15	15	60	60	0	Critical
F	3-4	30	20	30	50	60	10	—
Dummy	4-6	0	50	60	50	60	10	—
Dummy	5-6	0	35	60	35	60	25	—
G	6-7	7	60	60	67	67	0	Critical
H	7-8	10	67	67	77	77	0	—
I	8-9	30	77	77	107	107	0	—
J	9-10	3	107	222	110	225	115	—
K	10-11	45	110	315	155	360	205	—
L	9-12	45	107	107	152	152	0	Critical
M	12-13	180	152	172	332	352	20	—
N	13-14	8	332	352	365	365	0	Critical
Dummy	11-14	0	155	205	155	365	210	—

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References

1 महाभौमः खलु प्रासेनजितीमुपयेमे सुयज्ञां नाम । तस्यामस्य जज्ञे अयुतनायी । यः पुरुषमेधानामयुतमानयत् । तदस्यायुतनायित्वम् ।

Mahābhārata 1.90.19

Critical Edition, Bhandakar Oriental Research Institute, Pune.

2 इक्ष्वाकुवंशप्रभवो राजासीत्पृथिवीपतिः ।
महाभिष इति ख्यातः सत्यवाक्सत्यविक्रमः ॥ *Mahābhārata* 1.91.1
सोऽश्वमेधसहस्रेण वाजपेयशतेन च ।
तोषयामास देवेन्द्रं स्वर्गं लेभे ततः प्रभुः ॥ 1.91.2

3 Majumdar, R. C. (ed.), *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 220
Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1953

4 Jayaswal, K. P. *History of India*, p. 5-7

5 Puri, B. N. *India in the time of Patañjali*, p. 168
Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay 1958

6 *Mahābhāṣya* IV. 3.66, p. 312; III. 4.1, p. 168

7 *Ibid.*, V. 3.66, p. 312

8 *Ibid.*, III. 2. 123 p. 123

9 Majumdar, R. C. (Ed.) (1970) *The Classical Age, The history and culture of the Indian people*, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, p. 15

10 *Epigraphica Carnatica* Vol. IX, p. 206

11 *Ibid.*, p. 231

12 ततोऽब्रवीद् द्विजान् वृद्धान् यज्ञकर्मसु निष्ठितान् ।
स्थापत्ये निष्ठितांश्चैव वृद्धान् परमधार्मिकान् ॥

Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa, Bālakāṇḍa 13.6

कर्मान्तिकान् शिल्पकरान् वर्धकीन् खनकानपि ।
गणकाञ्शिल्पिनश्चैव तथैव नटनर्तकान् ॥ 13,7.

13 ततो ययौ भीमसेनः प्राज्ञैः स्थपतिभिः सह ।
ब्राह्मणानग्रतः कृत्वा कुशालन्यज्ञकर्मसु ॥ *Mahābhārata* 14.86.11 ॥

14 तं सशालचयग्रामं संप्रतोलीविटङ्किनम् ।
मापयामास कौरव्यो यज्ञवाटं यथाविधि ॥ *Mahābhārata* 14.86.12 ॥
सदः सपत्नीसदनं साग्नीध्रमपि चोत्तरम् ।
कारयामास विधिवत् मणिहेमविभूषितम् ॥ 13 ॥
स्तम्भान्कनकचित्रांश्च तोरणानि बृहन्ति च ।
यज्ञायतनदेशेषु दत्त्वा शुद्धं च काञ्चनम् ॥ 14 ॥

15 ब्राह्मणावसथाश्चैव कर्तव्याः शतशः शुभाः ।
भक्ष्यान्नपानैर्बहुभिः समुपेताः सुनिष्ठिताः ॥ *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* 13.10 ॥

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तथा पौरजनस्यापि कर्तव्या बहुविस्तराः ।
आगतानां सुदूराच्च पार्थिवानां पृथक् पृथक् ॥ 11 ॥
वाजिवारणशालाश्च तथा शय्यागृहाणि च ।
भटानां महदावासा वैदेशिकनिवासिनाम् ॥ 12 ॥
आवासा बहुभक्ष्या वै सर्वकामैरुपस्थिताः ।
पौरजानपदस्यापि जनस्य बहुशोभनम् ॥ 13 ॥
.. ..
यज्ञकर्मसु ये व्यग्राः पुरुषाः शिल्पिनस्तथा ॥ 15 ॥[ca]
तेषामपि विशेषेण पूजा कार्या यथाक्रमम् ।
ये स्युः संपूजिताः सर्वे वसुभिर्भोजनेन च ॥ 16 ॥

People that were invited to attend the sacrifice were :

ततः सुमन्त्रमाहूय वसिष्ठो वाक्यमब्रवीत् ।
निमन्त्रयस्व नृपतीन् पृथिव्यां ये च धार्मिकाः ॥ 19 ॥
ब्राह्मणान् क्षत्रियान् वैश्यान् शूद्रांश्चैव सहस्रशः ।
समानयस्व सत्कृत्य सर्वदेशेषु मानवान् ॥ 20 ॥

16 एते चान्ये च बहवो राजानो मध्यदेशजाः ।
आजग्मुः पाण्डुपुत्रस्य राजसूयं महाक्रतुम् ॥ M.B. 2.31.17 ॥
ददुस्तेषामावसथान् धर्मराजस्य शासनात् ।
बहुकक्ष्यान्वितान् राजन् दीर्घिकावृक्षशोभितान् ॥ 18 ॥
कैलासशिखरप्रख्यान्मनोज्ञान् द्रव्यभूषितान् ।
सर्वतः संवृतानुच्चैः प्राकारैः सुकृतैः सितैः ॥ 20 ॥
सुवर्णजालसंवीतान् मणिकुट्टिमशोभितान् ।
सुखारोहणसोपानान् महासनपरिच्छदान् ॥ 21 ॥

17 *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Vol. 36, No. 1-4, Sept. 1986–June, 1987, p. 45-54.

18 Radhakrishna Chaudhary (1962), "Viṣṭi (Forced labour) in Ancient India," *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 1. p. 57

19 आवासा बहुभक्ष्या वै सर्वकामैरुपस्थिताः ।
पौरजानपदस्यापि जनस्य बहुशोभनम् ॥ V.R. 1.13 ॥
दातव्यमन्नं विधिवत्सत्कृत्य न तु लीलया ।
सर्वे वर्णा यथा पूजां प्राप्नुवन्ति सुसत्कृताः ॥ 1.14 ॥

20 पुनः प्राप्ते वसन्ते तु पूर्णः संवत्सरोऽभवत् ।
प्रसवार्थं गतो यष्टुं हयमेधेन वीर्यवान् ॥ V.R. 13.1 ॥
अथ संवत्सरे पूर्णे तस्मिन् प्राप्ते तुरंगमे ।
सरय्वोश्चोत्तरे तीरे राज्ञो यज्ञोऽभ्यवर्तत ॥ V.R. 14.1 ॥

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SACRED-THREAD : ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT. DOES IT HAVE ANY VEDIC SANCTION?

By

MADHUSUDAN MISHRA*

Introduction :

The Sanskrit term for a sacred-thread is '*yajñopavītam.*' It is a compound by nature having two components viz. '*yajña*' and '*upavītam*'—While the first one is derived from the root '*yaj*' 'to worship' with the suffix '*na*,' the second one is derived as follows: *upa* + *vye* + *kta*. The prefix '*upa*' meaning 'near' together with the root '*vye*' 'to go/to move' renders the sense '*upavyayate neneti*' 'that by which one goes/moves near.' And '*yajñopavītam*' may be construed as : '*yajñāya upavītam*' 'an *upavīta* for a sacrifice.' From the derivation neither we get the thing that makes a person move near (something/somebody), nor do we get the object/person with reference to what/whom it moves near. Thus it serves a little. That's why it would be appropriate to turn towards the meaning current in language and literature. The meaning current is : a sacred-thread. Hence a sacred-thread makes a person move near (something/somebody). But with reference to what/whom it operates? From the current practice in India we see that the investiture of a sacred-thread is always done in *Upanayana* ceremony. '*Upanayana*' in its derivational sense means 'taking near' (*Upa* + *nayana*). Thus there is a very non-incidental relation between '*Upavīta*' and '*Upanayana.*' '*Upanayana*' in its original form was meant for taking a *Bramacārin* pupil to the preceptor. It indicates the beginning of Vedic lore.[1] Thus with reference to this one moves near. But the question is its '*Upanayana*' marks the starting of Vedic lore then in what way an '*Upavita*' is connected with '*Upanayana*' ceremony? It is beyond any debate that putting a cord of threads on the shoulder of a twice-born has become the central theme of today's *Upanayana*. The original sense has been side-lined. Moreover, the investiture of a twice-born with a sacred-thread never constituted a part of *Upanayana* ceremony. Almost all the Vedic treatises viz. *Ṛgveda, Yajurveda, Brāhmaṇas, Gṛhya-sūtras* are absolutely reticent about the initiation of a twice-born with a cord of threads in *Upanayana* ceremony. *Upanayana* in its original sense did not have any connection with a '*Yajñopavītam*' which forms the central theme of today's

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1 उपानयाख्यं यत कर्म विद्यार्थं तदुदीरितम् ।

... Bhāradvāja quoted in *Viramitrodaya*, p. 334.

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practice. It creates a great problem. An attempt has been made herewith to trace its origin, primitive shape, development, relation with *Upanayana* ceremony, its becoming a part of that, shape and size etc. Moreover, Śāstric proofs have been supplied supporting its removal at some particular times.

The term '*Upavīta*' never occurs in the *Ṛgveda*. For the first time it is met with in the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* (II. 5.11. 1) wherein it is stated :

" निवीतं मनुष्याणां प्राचीनावीतं पितृणामुपवीतं देवानामुपव्ययते देवलक्ष्यमेव तत् कुरुते ".

That means 'the *nivīta* is used in acts for men' the *prācīnāvīta* (is used in rites) for *pitṛs* and the *upavīta* (in performances) for gods; he wears it in *upavīta* style thereby he makes a distinguishing sign of the gods'. Some such references to *upavīta* are : *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 2.4.2.1, *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* I. 6.8 , *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā* 16.17, *Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra* 3.2.7., *Kātyāyana Gṛhyasūtra* 1.7.24, *Śāṅkhyāna Gṛhya-sūtra* 2.2.13.4, *Āśvalāyana Śrautasūtra* 1.1. From the Taittirīya Saṁhitā and some other Vedic treatises it is evident that *upavita* was originally a style of wearing a garment. The *Gobhila Gṛhyasūtra* (I. 2.2.4) explains an *upavīta* as :

" दक्षिणं बाहुमुद्धृत्य शिरोवधाय सव्येऽसे प्रतिष्ठापयति दक्षिणं कक्षमन्ववलम्बं भवत्येवं यज्ञोपवीती भवति..... ".

" Thus raising the right hand, putting the head into (the *upavita*) he suspends (the cord) over his left shoulder in such a way that it hangs down on his right-side, hence he becomes a *yajñopavītīn*'—*Taittirīya Saṁhitā* is quite clear on this point while it says :

वासो विन्यासविशेषो यज्ञोपवीतम् । दक्षिणं बाहुमुद्धृतमंसेऽवधते सव्यमिति यज्ञोपवीतम्...इति ब्राह्मणम्

(quoted by Altekar, p. 318). When we turn towards its other styles of wearing we see a *Prācīnāvīta* is that which is worn just in reverse order to an *upavīta* i.e. put on the right shoulder and hung down at the left side. When it is hung down like a garland on the neck it is called *nivīta*.

Upavīta: *Originally an Upper Garment*

In its original sense and form an *upavīta* is entirely different from its present form i.e. a cord of threads. Ancient Aryan notion of decency required that an upper garment should be used to cover the body when one is engaged in *svādhyāya* (Vedic recitation), *utsarga* (charity), *dāna* (giving donations), *bhukta* (dining) and *ācamana* (sipping of water).[2] *Smṛticandrikā* vividly quotes the opinion of

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2 उत्तरं वासः कर्तव्यं पञ्चस्वेतेषु कर्मसु ।
स्वाध्यायोत्सर्गदानेषु भुक्ताचमनयोस्तथा ॥
Baudhāyana quoted in *Smṛticandrikā*, p. 113.

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ancient seers regarding the requirement of an upper garment. Quoting Gobhīla it says :

एकवस्त्रो न भुञ्जीत् न कुर्यादेवतार्चनम् ।
न चार्चयेद्विजान्नग्नो कुर्यादेवंविधौ नरः ॥[3]

Viṣṇupurāṇa as quoted in the same text says:—

होमदेवार्चनाद्यासु क्रियासु पठने तथा ।
नैकवस्त्रः प्रवर्तेत द्विजो नाचमने जपे ॥[4]

From all this it is obvious that it was a general practice in those days to have a second garment except that the lower one. The upper garment that was used at that time was normally a piece of cloth. Still references are found where a piece of cloth is seen to be replaced by a strip of antelope-skin. As the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* says:

"अजिनं वासो वा दक्षिणत उपवीय दक्षिणं बाहुम् उद्धरते... " (तै. आ. II. 1.)

Here it is remarkable that no cord of threads is meant by *upavīta* but a piece of deer skin or cloth. Altekar's supposition that an antelope was used for a piece of cloth when weaving or spinning was not known in the pre-historic days does not seem to be convincing. His citation from the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* (quoted above) only says that an antelope skin was an option to a piece of cloth. Both of them were used side by side. Thus there is no adequate reason to suppose like this.[5] Its early form as an upper garment is seen intact when we see the *dupaṭṭā* of Northern India or the *uparaṇe* of Maharashtra.

Its Replacement by a Cord of Threads.

Some later *Sūtrakāras* and commentators, it appears, with some unknown motives dropped the hint that *upavīta* was a piece of cloth. For the first time *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra* (II.24.22-23) inserted an altogether new idea by giving the option of a cord of threads in place of a piece of cloth. It enjoins :—

"नित्यमुत्तरं वासः कार्यम् । अपि वा सूत्रमेवोपवीतार्थे "

"an upper garment should always be worn, or a thread in place of an *upavīta*." It won't be out of context here to mention that probably this notion has given rise to the popular saying "वस्त्राभावे सूत्रं दद्यात्" in later times. In many Hindu rites current today such an idea has been actually employed. (Here instance

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3 Ibid.

4 Cf. विकच्छोऽनुत्तरीयश्च नग्नश्चावस्त्र एव च ।
श्रौतं स्मार्तं तथा कर्म न नग्नश्चिन्तयेदपि ॥
Baudhāyana quoted in *Smṛticandrikā*, p. 114.

5 Altekar, A. S. : *Education in Ancient India*, Appendix.

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may be cited of a Hindu *śrāddha* wherein it occurs very often). Āpastamba has been followed by Jātukarṇya who says:

"वस्त्रोत्तरीयाभावे द्व्यङ्गुलं त्र्यगुलं चतुरगुलं वा सूत्रैर्वस्त्राकृति
परिमण्डलं तदुत्तरीयं कुर्यात् " [6].

The view of Ṛṣyaśṛṅga supports his predecessor and says:

अपि वा वाससा यज्ञोपवीतार्थं कुर्यात्तदभावे त्रिवृता सूत्रेण [7]

Gobhila Gṛhyasūtra in treating of *upanayan* says:

" The student takes as *Yajñopavīta* a cord of threads, a garment or a cord of *Kuśa* grass.[8]" This indicates that though a cord of threads was considered as an appropriate *Yajñopavīta* in Gobhila's time, still it was not an invariable rule as options are found to it. Manu (*Manusmṛti* II.44) while treating an *upavīta* says that it should be made of cotton and should have three strands. *Nigama pariśiṣṭa* of *Smṛticandrikā* (p. 32) gives so many option to cotton thread. It says:

कार्पासक्षौमगोबालशणवल्कतृणोद्भवम् ।
सदा संभवतो धार्यमुपवीतं द्विजातिभिः ॥

It is very interesting to note that in *Saṁskāraratnamālā* (Āpastambaśākhoktā) while dealing with the उपवीतविधि ordains that :

उपवीतनाशे यावदुपवीतं न लभ्यते तावत् कार्पासतन्तुगोबालकुशेष्वन्यतमेन कृतम् ,
परिमण्डलितं वस्त्रं वा धारयेत् ।

Here it is noteworthy that a cloth which was an original *Upavīta* has been ordained as an optional.[9] Thus from all these it appears that due to its easy availability, softness in touch and its being economical was preferred to all other options. Hence this replacement took place.

Sacred-thread and Upanayana Ceremony : No relation

Almost all the prominent Gṛhyasūtras keep an absolute reticence about the investiture of an *upavīta* in *upanayana* ceremony. As has been told earlier, since *upanayana* had no relation with it that should not also be expected to be done here. Thus there is no Vedic *mantra* for this investiture rite prevalent today.

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6 Quoted in *Smṛticandrikā*, p. 114.

7 Ibid.

8 यज्ञोपवीतं कुरुते वस्त्रं वापि वा कुशरज्जुमेव
(*Gobhīla Gṛhyasūtra* 1.2.1);
सूत्रमपि वस्त्राभावाद् वेदितव्यम् (*Smṛticandrikā* p. 32).

9 Panashikar, V. Sastri, *Samskāraratnamālā* (ed.) (Nirnayasagar Press), Bombay, 1924, p. 93.

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While score of Vedic *mantras* are enunciated for several component parts of the *Upanayana*. One may cite the instance of the *mantra*—

यज्ञोपवीतं परमं पवित्रं प्रजापतेर्यत्सहजं पुरस्तात् ।
आयुष्यमग्र्यं प्रतिमुञ्च शुभ्र यज्ञोपवीतं तु बलमस्तुतेजः ॥

This *mantra* for the first time occurs in the *Baudhāyana Gṛhyasūtra* (11.5.7-8) and also in *Vaikhānasa Gṛhyasūtra* (11.5), since it has not been cited in any well-known ancient Vedic work, it is most probably a modering. Although the same *mantra* is cited in the *Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra* (2.2.10a) it appears to be an interpolation.[10] All the commentators on this *mantra* unanimously agree that this rite of investiture of a cord of threads has never been prescribed by the *Sūtrakāra*. Harihara, one of the commentators says:

" अत्र यद्यपि सूत्रकारेण **यज्ञोपवीतधारणं** न सूत्रितं तथाप्येकवस्त्राः... [11] "

It is interesting to note here that many commentators on this very *mantra* also agree that investiture of a sacred-thread never constitutes a part of *upanayana*. Karkabhāṣya on this issue explicitly opines:

तूष्णी वा मेखलां बध्नीते । अस्मिन्नवसरे **प्रसिद्ध्या** यज्ञोपवीतमेवेच्छन्ति ।

Jayarāma in the same tone says:

अत्रावसरे यज्ञोपवीताजिने भवत **आचारात्** ।

These two authorities are quite important so far as tradition is concerned. Thus putting a sacred-thread in *upanayana* goes according to common practice (लोकाचारं) and not as enjoined in the *śāstra* (शास्त्राचारं)

Another important issue ought to be mentioned here. From a comparative study of the Vedas and the Avesta we come through a very close proximity in many a sphere. It also holds good so far as our traditional reforms are considered. According to the practice current in India a sacred-thread is invested usually after the tying of the *muñja-mekhalā*. This girdling also occurs in the Persian counterpart. The Avestan '*aiwyānhana* (skt. अभ्यासन) means to girdle. No sacred-tread investiture is found in this Vedic counterpart. That's why it is highly probable that the investiture of a cord of threads is quite a latter development having no direct Vedic sanction to it. Later on, with its growing popularity it was somehow inserted into *upanayana* and latter *Smṛtikāras* tried to give it a *śāstric* sanction. Both the insertion of sacred-thread and *mantras* to justify it have been done deliberately and abruptly also.

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10 Kane P. V. : *History of Dharmashastra*, Vol. II, Part I, Poona, 1941, p. 294, fn. 682.

11 Bakre M. G. : *Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra* (ed.) Gujarat Printing Press, Bombay, 1917 pp. 184.

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It won't be uncontextual to mention here that since it was not a Vedic practice, nobody was wearing a cord of threads all the twenty four hours. In the course of time, with the advent of more *Smṛtis*, life of a householder become full of many obligatory sacrifices viz. त्रिसंध्या, पञ्चमहायज्ञ etc. As an upper garment was needed while discharging sacrificial duties and since it was replaced by a cord of threads people preferred wearing it all the twentyfour hours instead of putting it again and again.

Number of Threads :

In the course of time due to its obvious convenience it became popular and its original significance was forgotten. *Smṛtikāras* began to prescribe the number of threads to be worn. *Baudhāyana Dharmasutra* (I.5.5-6) prescribes that three threads of nine strands are to be worn.[12] Devala quoted in *Smṛticandrikā* (p. 31) says:

यज्ञोपवीतं कुर्वीत सूत्रेण नवतन्तुकम् ।

Three threads are seen to be prescribed for householder.[13] Devala prescribing the number of threads to be worn by people belonging to different strate of life says:

उपवीतं बटोरेकं द्वे तथेतरयोः स्मृते ।
एकमेव यतीनां स्यादिति शास्त्रविनिश्चयः ॥[14]

But according to todays practice generally two threads (three strands each) are worn. This unanimity differs in case of Maharashtrian Brahmins wearing three strands till marriage and six strands after the marriage.

Mystification of a Sacred-thread

Exploiting the growing popularity and increasing response Brahmins and latter writers purposefully tried to mystify it. Quoting the authority of Devala, *Smṛticandrikā* gives a list of nine deities associated with a sacred-thread. It says:

ओंकार प्रथमस्तन्तुर्द्वितीयोऽग्निस्तथैव च ।
तृतीयो नागदेवत्यश्चतुर्थो सामदेवतः ॥
पञ्चमः पितृदेवत्यः षष्ठश्चैव प्रजापतिः ।
सप्तमो वायुदेवत्यः सूर्यश्चाष्टम एव च ॥
नवमः सर्वदेवत्यः इत्येते नवतन्तवः ।

(*Smṛticandrikā*-Part-I, p. 31)

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12 कौशं सूत्रं वा त्रिवृत्त्रिगुणोपवीतम् ।

13 तृतीयमुत्तरीयार्थे वस्त्राभावे तदिष्यते—
Vīramitrodaya, p. 421.

14 Quoted in *Samskāraratnamālā*, p. 187.

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With the mysterious efficacy in mind *Ādityapurāṇa* declared a sacred-thread of having the capacity of destroying evil spirits. Thus with such notion in mind people advocated that the greater number of sacred-threads, the better would be spiritual and material welfare [15]

An ideal size of sacred-thread

Kātyāyana quoted in *Samskārararatnamālā* says :

पृष्ठवंशे च नाभ्यां च धृतं यद्विन्दते कटिम् ।
तद्धार्यमुपवीतं स्यान्नातिलम्बं न चोच्छ्रितम् ॥[16]

Thus an ideal size is from the left shoulder upto navel and not beyond it nor above chest. Vasiṣṭha issuing a warning against a sacred-thread which does not go according to this ideals size says.

नाभेरूर्ध्वमनायुष्यमधो नाभेस्तपक्षयः ।
तस्मान्नाभिसमं कुर्यादुपवीतं विचक्षणः ॥

(A sacred-thread which is) above navel (region) (causes) decrease in life-time, beyond navel (causes) decrease in penance—Thus an adept (twice-born) should make a sacred-thread (having a length upto) just the navel region. This is somehow a warning to keep the ideal size intact.

Can Yajñopavīta be removed?

It is the most crucial question so far as the prevailing tradition is concerned. From the previous discussion it can safely be concluded that there is no adequate reason or direct Vedic sanction at all in putting a sacred-thread. Thus in absence of any scriptural enjoining to wear it all the twenty four hours, there would be no violation of scripture if it is removed. Later *Smṛtikāras* have also propounded in this favour, it not for ever, but occasionally at least. People belonging to *Taittirīya*, *Koṭha*, *Kāṇva* and *Vājasaneya* schools are permitted the removal of sacred-thread at the hour of daily bath. However, the Ṛgvedins, Sāmavedins and people belonging to the rest of the Yujurveda branches are deprived of such a favour or concession. Quoting the authority of *Bhṛgu Viramitrodaya* (p. 422) says:—

तैत्तिरीयाः कठाः काण्वाः चरका वाजसनेयिनः ।
कण्ठादुत्तार्य सूत्रं तु कुर्युर्वै क्षालनं द्विजाः ॥
बह्वृचाः सामगाश्चैव ये चान्ये यजुःशाखिनः ।
कण्ठादुत्तार्य सूत्रं तु पुनरर्हन्ति संस्क्रियाम् ॥

---

15 a) Cf. त्रीणि चत्वारि पञ्चाष्ट गृहिणः स्युर्दशापि वा ।
(*Viramitrodaya* quoting Kāśyapa, p. 421)
b) आयुष्कामैः सदा धार्यं बहुयज्ञोपवीतकम्— *Ibid.*

16. Also see *Smṛticandrikā* p. 32.

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But the *Smṛtikāra* does not explain the basis of such a concession.
Prescribing some more occasions while a sacred-thread should be kept off the same author says :

अभ्यङ्गे चोदधिस्नाने मातापित्रोर्मृतेऽहनि ।
कण्ठादुत्तार्य सूत्रं तु कुर्याद्वै क्षालनं द्विजः ॥

(*Viramitrodaya*, p. 423).

Eventually the latter view of keeping it all the twentyfour hours prevailed and still current in Hindu society.

Conclusion :

From the above discussion we are satisfied to say that it is only popular belief and then latter *Smṛtikāras* that mystified a cord of threads. Since it had no Vedic sanction it need not be the pivot of today's *Upanayana*. *Upanayana* was never intended to invest a cord of threads. Thus an upper garment, due to convenience, easy availability and various other reasons discussed above was replaced by a cord of threads. People may contend that eventhough direct Vedic enjoining is not there still *Śruti anumiti* (inference from the Vedas) has enjoined it. But with direct evidence in possession (i.e. the Vedas) why should on opt or rely upon a secondary source like inference (i.e. *Smṛti*). Since the Vedas are the only unquestionable authority of Hindu religion and since it does not enjoin such an investiture, it should not be purposefully coined with *Upanayana*.

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NEW DISCOVERY IN THE INDIAN HISTORY

(Historicity of Parivarta Age)

By

KUNWARLAL JAIN*

Before going deep in the subject, first I will like to elaborate the following five terms, to grasp the subject matter and to know the importance of it. These five terms are—*Itihāsa*, *Divya*, *Samvatsara*, *Parivarta* and *Yuga*.

Imaginative or hypothetical matters do not become the part of History or *Itihāsa*. The Sanskrit word '*Itihāsa*' has three terms in it—*Iti* + *Ha* + *Āsa* which mean "old event, which definitely happened in the past."[1] Therefore, history is the narration of true events, and a *Divya Samvatsara* was a historical fact, we have to think over it, here.

The Meaning of the word—Divya—Yāskācārya had interpreted thus :—'*Deva*' word is derived from these roots—(words)—"*Diva, Dīpana, Dyotana* or *Dyusthāna*"[2] (Donation, brilliance or lighting or bright or the Sun is *Daivya*).[3] In other words '*Divya*' year means the solar (year) or Solar age. On this assumption the '*Divya Samvatsara*' or *Daivya yuga* means a solar age and it has nothing to do with divine days or heavenly days or years. The '*Divya Samvatsara*' or *Divya* age has 360 human years (Solar years).

The words :—Samvatsara and Yuga are Synonymous :

Both the words have identical meaning as regards the history. The word '*Samvatsara*' has been used in the meaning of *Yuga* (age) in the historical names of the ages. In the Vedic Saṁhitās, a day was also called—'*Samvatsara*,'[4] a year or five year age and ages of hundred or thousand years were also called '*Samvatsara*.' The following evidence is placed for the judgement of readers.

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1 "इतिहासः पुरावृत्तम् ऋषिभिः परिकीर्त्यते"

Acharya Durga had interpreted it as thus :—

"इति ह वमासीदिति यः कथ्यते स इतिहासः"

(2/10—"It had happened definitely," This is called an '*Itihasa*'

2 Nirukta (7/15)

3 देवस्य सवितुः प्रातः प्रसवः प्राणाः (तैत्तिरीय ब्राह्मण 1 । 5 । 3)

4 एकं वा एतद्देवानामहः । यत्संवत्सरः । (तैत्तिरीय ब्राह्मण 3 । 9 । 22)

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Originally the word '*Yuga*' was used in the Vedas, in the meaning of day and night (couple) and they are called '*Mithuna*' (gemini).[5] *In the Vedas and Purāṇas the word Vatsara is used in the sense of* '*Yuga*' *as the following yugas are also called Vatsaras :—Bṛhaspati Yuga = Ṣaṣṭi Vatsara,* '*Divya Vatsara*' = *Parivarta yuga* (360 human years) or *Divya* (Solar) years, *Śata Vatsara* or *Mānuṣa yuga, Saptarṣi Vatsara = Saptarṣi yuga, Dhruvavatsara= Dhruva yuga,* Ācārya Lagadha had said the five year age as *yugādhyakṣa.*[6] The Bṛhaspati *yuga* is called *Ṣaṣṭi Vatsara* in the beginning of *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka.*

Saptarṣi Vatsara—Saptarṣi yuga of 3030 human (or 2700 *Divya*) years is called *Saptarṣi Vatsara.*

त्रीणि वर्षसहस्राणि मानुषेण प्रमाणतः ।
त्रिंशद्यानि तु मे मतः सप्तर्षिवत्सरः ॥[7]

Dhruva Vatsara—Likewise, the *Dhruva yuga* of 9090 human years is called *Dhruva Vatsara.*

नव यानि सहस्राणि वर्षाणां मानुषाणि च ।
अन्यानि नवतिश्चैव ध्रुवसंवत्सरः स्मृतः ॥[8]

Therefore, the Bṛhaspati Vatsara (60 human years), the Saptarṣi Vatsara (2700 years), and the *Dhruva Vatsara* (9090 years) were the long ages, which were named as Vatsaras, they were not only years, but the ages of so many years, so the '*Divya Samvatsara*' was not a divine year, but, an age (*Yuga*) or a solar age of 360 human years, so the *Divya Samvatsara* is the indicator of a long historical age. It has nothing to do with days, clearly it was called a *Yuga* (age) of 360 human years :—

त्रीणि वर्षशतान्येवं षष्टिवर्षाणि यानि तु ।
दिव्यसंवत्सरो ह्येष मानुषेण प्रकीर्तितः ॥[9]

Now, it is clear that the '*Vatsara*' and '*Yuga*' were synonymous or identical in their inner meaning and they have nothing to do with divine day or divine year, they only concern with history and they were purely historical ages of ancient Indian history, as it will be proved in this article thoroughly.

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5 '*Aha,*' *Samvatsara* and '*Divya*' words created misunderstandings later on and '*Divya*' was considered a Divine year, which has nothing to do with history
आ पुत्रा अग्ने मिथुनासो अत्र सप्त शतानि विंशतिश्च तस्थुः ॥ (ऋग्वेद 1 । 164 । 11)

6 पंचसंवत्सरमयं युगाध्यक्षं प्रजापतिम् ।
कालज्ञानं प्रवक्ष्यामि लगधस्य महात्मनः ॥ (वेदांग ज्यौतिषे श्लोक १)

7 *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* (1/2/29/17)

8 *Ibid.* (1/2/29/18)

9 *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* (1/2/29/16)

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The above stanza tells only a solar age of 360 human years. The word '*Divya*' only indicates the human or solar year as is obvious in the following verse :—

"सप्तर्षीणां युगं ह्येतद् दिव्यया संख्यया स्मृतम्"

Therefore, the '*Divya*' only means '*Solar*' and the *Vatsara* was a name of '*age*.' There should be no doubt about it.

New Age (Parivarta) discovered—The discovery of this new age—'*Divya Vatsara*' or '*Parivarta Yuga*' has a great importance in the field of oriental researches and no scholar [10] was able to discover it till now as far as it concerned. The discovery of this new age (*Yuga*) or era opens the vistas of new discoveries and it fixes the chronology of the most remote past of India. The *Parivarta yuga* (*Divya Samvatsara*) will solve the *Yuga*-Problem, as it was the most prevalent historical age of ancient Indian history. As the Purāṇas, enumerate all important dates in the *Parivarta* ages, consecutively, as demonstrated in the context of '*Vyāsa-Parampara*' mentioned in the Purāṇas.

The commentator of *Sidhāntaśiromaṇi*, Munīśwara had quoted Lagadha, as thus :—

पंचसंवत्सरैरेकं प्रोक्तं लघुयुगं बुधैः ।
लघुद्वादशकेनैव षष्टिरूपं द्वितीयकम् ॥
तद् द्वादशमितैः प्रोक्तं तृतीयं युगसंज्ञकम् ॥
युगानां षट्शती तेषां चतुष्पादी कला युगे ॥

In the above verses the third age is mentioned of 720 years. The recension of Munīśwara is somewhat erroneous, because, there was no age of 720 years, ever prevalent or mentioned in the ancient literature. Actually the *Yugapāda* was of 1200 years and not of 600 years, as Āryabhaṭṭa mentioned it as following :—

"षष्ट्यब्दानां षष्टिर्यदा व्यतीतास्त्रयश्च युगपादाः"

So, the correct recension of the above quoted verse of Munīśwara should be as following :—

तत् षण्मितैः प्रोक्तं तृतीयं युगसंज्ञकम् ।
युगानां द्वादशशती तेषां चतुष्पादी कला युगे ॥

The Divya Samvatsara and Parivarta yuga created a great misunderstanding :—

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10 The famous Vedic research scholar Pt. Bhagavaddatta was unable to solve the age Problem, so he wrote :—

'यदि इन अवान्तर त्रेताओं की अवधि जान ली जाय, तो भारतीय इतिहास का सारा कालक्रम शीघ्र निश्चित हो सकता है, हम अभी तक इस बात को पूर्णतया जान नहीं पाये।"

(भारतवर्ष का बृहद् इतिहास भा० १, पृ० १५९)

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The historical meaning of these words, in later times, was forgotten and these words caused such a misunderstanding that later Purāṇa authors or interpolators made the age of 360 years, as the age of 4320000 (Four millions, three lacs and twenty thousand years) which has nothing to do with human history. The original word '*Parivarta yuga*' was made by misreadings as *Caturyuga* or *Tretāyuga* or *Dwāpara* or *Kaliyuga*. Actually the *Caturyugas* have only 12000 human years as Lokmanya Tilaka said, "In other words, Manu and Vyāsa, obviously speak only of a period of 10000 or including the Sandhyas of 12000 ordinary or human (not divine) years, from the beginning of Krita to the end of Kali-age, and it is remarkable that in the *Atharvaveda* we should find a period of 10000 years apparently assigned to one *Yuga*.[11] But the interpolators of later ages, made '*Parivarta yuga*' a '*Chaturyuga*' multiplying it by 360 and resulting into 4320000 years as the following context makes it so :—

चतुर्युगे त्वतिक्रान्ते मनोर्हैकादशे प्रभोः ।
अथावशिष्टे तस्मिंस्तु द्वापरे संप्रवर्तिते ।
मरुत्तस्य नरिष्यन्तस्तस्य पुत्रो दमः किल ॥[12]

Actually, the Monarch Marutta was reigning in the eleventh *Parivarta yuga*. The total period of 11 *Parivartas* was (360 × 11 =) 3960 years and the First *Parivarta yuga* began from Kaśyapa (at 14000 B.C.) and Marutta was the Monarch of 10040 B.C. And thus, so many misunderstandings were created by the loss of true memory about these *yugas*, as we have clarified that *Parivartayuga* or *Divya Samvatsara* (Solar age) was misunderstood as *Caturyuga* or *Treta yuga* or *Dwāpara*, as the following misreadings reveal it :—

प्रथमे द्वापरे ब्रह्मा व्यासो बभूव ह ।
परिवर्ते पुनः षष्ठे मृत्युर्व्यासो यदा प्रभुः ।
त्रेतायुगे तु दशमे दत्तात्रेयो बभूव ह ॥

The '*Tretā*' and '*Dwāpara*' recensions are quite corrupt readings and they made the history a harsh mythology.

Sequence of events mentioned in Parivarta yuga—Even in the present recension of olden Purāṇas, so many events have been mentioned in *Parivarta yugas* (*Divya Samvatsaras*), as for example, in the *Vāyu Purāṇa* (23rd chapter), 28 Vyāsas have been mentioned in the 28 *Parivarta yugas*, thus, each *Vyāsa* represents a *Parivarta yuga*. But, the present recension is erroneous, actually there have been 30 *Yugas* and 30 *Vyāsas*. The father of Śantanu, Pritipa and Jatukarṇa Vyāsa are considered, the men of 27th *Parivarta*. But the following recension of

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11. *The Arctic Home in the Vedas*, p. 350.
12. *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* (2/3/8/34-35)

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Matsya Purāṇa preserves the truth and it placed Manu and Devāpi in the 29th *Parivarta* :—

एतौ क्षत्रप्रणेतारौ नवविंशे चतुर्युगे ।
नवविंशे युगेऽसौ वै वंशस्यादिर्भविष्यति ॥
देवापिपुत्रः सत्यस्तु ऐलानां भविता नृपः ॥
(मत्स्य० । 272)

It means that Devāpi and his son, were the men of 29th *Yuga* and not of 27th *Yuga*. And thus Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana Vyāsa and Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa and Pāṇḍavas were the men of 30th *Yuga* and not of 28th *Yuga* as the present Purāṇa recensions mentioned them so.

From Kaśyapa (First Vyāsa), the Brahma, and great progenitor of Deva-yuga, we should find 30 Vyāsas and 30 *Parivarta Yugas* passed and total years of these 30 *Yugas* were 10800, (From 14000 B.C. to 3200 B.C.)

The following table will show the period of all the Vyāsas in the chronological order :—

S. No.	*Vyāsa*	*Founder of Yuga*	*Period, B.C.*
1	Kaśyapa	Dakṣa Pracetas	14000-13640 B.C.
2	Vāyu	Rudra-Mahādeva	13640-13280 B.C.
3	Uśanā	Hiraṇyakaśipu	13280-12920 B.C.
4	Bṛhaspati	Twelve gods	12920-12560 B.C.
5	Vivaswān	Vivaswān	12560-12200 B.C.
6	Vaivasvatayama	Yama, Manu	12200-11840 B.C.
7	Indra (Śakra)	Indra	11840-11480 B.C.
8	Vasiṣṭha	Viṣṇu	11480-11120 B.C.
9	Apantaratama	Mahendra	11120-10760 B.C.
10	Tridhama	Dattātreya	10760-10400 B.C.
11	Śaradwan	Marutta	10400-10040 B.C.
12	Triviṣṭa	Bali-Angarāja	10040-9680 B.C.
13	Antarikṣa	Dīrghatama	9680-9320 B.C.
14	Nārāyaṇa	Dambodbhava	9320-8960 B.C.
15	Triyaruni	Māndhātā	8960-8600 B.C.
16	Sañjaya	Trisadasyu	8600-8240 B.C.
17	Kṛtañjaya	Pratardana	8240-7880 B.C.
18	Ṛtañjaya	Hariścandra	7880-7620 B.C.
19	Bhardwāja	Paraśu-rama	7620-7260 B.C.
20	Trinajaya	Sagara	7260-6900 B.C.
21	Vājasrava	Bhagīratha	6900-6440 B.C.

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S. No.	Vyāsa	Founder of Yuga		Period, B.C.	
22	Vācaspati	Ajāmīḍha		6440-6080	B.C.
23	Śuklāyana	Tṛṇabindu		6080-5720	B.C.
24	Tṛṇabindu	Raghu		5720-5360	B.C.
25	Vālmīki	Rāma		5360-5000	B.C.
26	Śakti	Kṣatra		5000-4640	B.C.
27	Somasuṣma	Janamejaya		4640-4280	B.C.
28	Parāśara	Pritipa		4280-3920	B.C.
29	Jatukarṇa	Śantanu		3920-3560	B.C.
30	Pārāśarya	Kṛṣṇa		3560-3200	B.C.
		Bhārata war	=	3080-B.C.	
		Kali Started	=	3044 B.C.	

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(6) **वेदांग ज्योतिष** (श्लोक ३)— **भारतीय ज्योतिष** (पूर्वोक्त) पृष्ठ ९८;

(7), (8) and (9) व्यासकृत **ब्रह्माण्ड पुराण** (१ । २ । २९ । १७), (१ । २ । २९ । १८), and (१ । २ । २९ । १६): मोतीलाल—बनारसीदास दिल्ली १९७३, पृष्ठ ४५;

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(11) Tilak Lokmanya—"The *Arctic Home in the Vedas*; Tilak Bros. Poona 1971; Page 350;

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(2) देवो दानाद् वा दीपनाद् वा द्योतनाद् वा द्युस्थानो भवतीति वा, यो देवः सा देवता "
(निरुक्ते ७ । १५).

(3) देवस्य सवितुः प्रातः प्रसवः प्राणाः " (तैत्तिरीय ब्राह्मणे)—१ । ५ । ३)

(4) एकं वा एतद्देवानामहः । यत्संवत्सरः (तैत्तिरीय ब्राह्मणे—३ । ९ । २२)

(5) द्वादशारं न हि तज्जराय वर्वर्ति चक्रं परिद्यामृतस्य । आ पुत्रा अग्ने मिथुनासो अत्र सप्त शतानि विंशतिश्च तस्थुः । (ऋग्वेदे १ । १६४ । ११)
द्वादश प्रधमश्चक्रमेकं त्रीणि नभ्यानि क उ तच्चिकेत ।
तस्मिन्साकं त्रिशता न शंकवोऽर्पिताः षष्टिर्न चलाचलासः ॥ (ऋग्वेद १ । १६४ । ४८)

(6) (क) पंचसंवत्सरमयं युगाध्यक्षं प्रजापतिम् ।
कालज्ञानं प्रवक्ष्यामि लगधस्य महात्मनः । (ऋग्वेदज्योतिषे श्लोक १)

(ख) संवत्सरोऽसि परिवत्सरोऽसीदावत्सरोऽसि इद्वत्सरोऽसि वत्सरोऽसि । (वाजसनेयिसंहिता—२९ । ४५)

(ग) तेषां संवत्सरो ह्यग्निः सूर्यस्तु परिवत्सरः ।
सोम इद्वत्सरः प्रोक्तो वायुश्चैवानुवत्सरः ।
रुद्रस्तु वत्सरस्तेषां पंचाब्दास्ते युगात्मकाः ॥
(ब्रह्माण्डपुराणे १ । २ । २८–२१–२२)

(षट् प्रकाशयुगाख्याः)—ब्रह्माण्डपुराणे

(घ) षट्प्रकाशयुगाख्यैषा ता प्रवक्ष्यामि तत्त्वतः ।
लौकिकेन प्रमाणेन निष्पाद्याब्दं तु मानुषम् ॥

दिव्यसंवत्सरः = परिवर्तयुगं वा—

त्रीणि वर्षशतान्येव षष्टिवर्षाणि यानि तु ।
दिव्यः संवत्सरो ह्येष मानुषेण प्रकीर्तितः ॥ १२ । २९ । ४; १६),

(7) सप्तर्षिवत्सरः सप्तर्षियुगं वा—

त्रीणि वर्षसहस्राणि मानुषाणि प्रमाणतः ।
त्रिंशदन्यानि वर्षाणि मतः सप्तर्षिवत्सरः ॥ (१ । २ । २९ । १७)

(8) ध्रुववत्सरो ध्रुवयुगं वा—

नव यानि सहस्राणि वर्षाणां मानुषाणि तु ।
अन्यानि नवतिश्चैव ध्रुवः संवत्सरः स्मृतः ॥ (१ । २ । २९ । १८)

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सप्तर्षिसंवत्सरः—

सप्तविंशतिपर्यन्ते कृत्स्ने नक्षत्रमण्डले ।
सप्तर्षयस्तु तिष्ठन्ति पर्यायेण शतं शतम् ।
सप्तर्षीणां युगं ह्येतद्दिव्यया संख्यया स्मृतम् ॥ (वायुपुराणे ९९ । ४१९)

(9) पंचसंवत्सरैरेकं प्रोक्तं लघुयुगं बुधैः ।
लघु द्वादशकेनैव षष्टिरूपं द्वितीयकम् ।
तद् द्वादशमितैः प्रोक्तं तृतीयं युगसंज्ञकम् ॥
युगानां षट्शती तेषां चतुष्पादी कृता युगे ॥

(सिद्धान्तशिरोमणि, मुनीश्वरकृत मरीचिटीकायाम् ग्रहगणिते, श्लोक २५)

Citation from :—

पं. भगवद्दत्तकृत

भारतवर्ष का बृहद् इतिहास, प्रथम भाग, पृष्ठ १५९ :

(10) **वायु के त्रेता एक ही त्रेता के अवान्तर विभाग :—** वायु० के बहुत से त्रेता एक ही त्रेता के अवान्तर विभाग हैं । वायु (पुराण) के अनुसार आद्यत्रेतासे लेकर चौबीसवें त्रेता तक निम्नलिखित व्यक्ति हुये थे—

दक्ष प्रजापति	...	...	आद्यत्रेतायुग
बारह देव	...	...	आद्यत्रेतायुगमुख
करन्धम	...	वायु० ८६ । ७ ...	त्रेतायुगमुख
आवीक्षितपुत्र	(मरुत्त)	आश्वमेधिकपर्व (४ । १७)	त्रेतायुगमुख
तृणविन्दु	...	...	तृतीय त्रेतायुग
दत्तात्रेय	...	...	दशम ,,
मान्धाता	...	...	पन्द्रहवाँ ,,
जामदग्न्यराम	...	...	उन्नीसवाँ ,,
दाशरथिराम	...	...	चौबीसवाँ ,,

कालक्रम की दृष्टि से ये लोग थोड़े थोड़े अन्तर पर एक दूसरे के पश्चात् हुये । यदि ये पृथक् पृथक चतुर्युगों में होते तो इनके मध्य में द्वापर कलि और सत्युग के अन्य महापुरुष अवश्य गिने जाते । पर ऐसा नहीं किया गया । अतः वायु (पुराण) के अनेक त्रेता एक ही त्रेता के अवान्तर विभाग हैं ।" ... ...

(11) चत्वार्याहुः सहस्राणि वर्षाणां तत्कृतं युगम् ।
तस्य तावच्छती संध्या संध्यांशश्च तथाविधः ।
त्रीणि वर्षसहस्राणि त्रेतायुगमिहोच्यते ।
तस्य तावच्छती संध्या संध्यांशश्च ततः परम् ॥

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तथा वर्षसहस्रे द्वे द्वापरे परिणामतः ।
तस्यापि द्विशती संध्यांशश्च तथाविधः ॥
सहस्रमेकं वर्षाणां तथा कलियुगं स्मृतम् ।
तस्य वर्षशतं संधिः संध्यांशश्च तत् परम् ॥

(महाभारते, वनपर्वणि, 88 । 5 । 21-28)

quoted by Lokmanya Tilak with his explanation, as follows :— "From a consideration of the facts stated above it will be seen that so far as the code of Manu and the *Mahābhārata* are concerned, they preserve for us a reminiscence of a cycle of 10000 years comprising the four *yugas*, the Kṛta, the Tretā, the Dvāpāra and the Kali; and that the Kali yuga of one thousand years has been aready set in; in other words, Manu and Vyāsa obiously speak only of a period of 10000, or including the Sandhyās, of 12000 ordinary or human (not divine) years from the beginning of the Kṛata to the end of the Kali *yuga* and is remarkable that in *Atharva* Veda, we should find a period of 10000 years, apparently assigned to one *yuga*. (*The Arctic Home in the Vedas*, page 350);

अथर्ववेदे (८ । २ । २१) :— "शतं तेऽयुतं हायनान् द्वे युगे त्रीणि चत्वारि कृष्णः । "

(12) चतुर्युगे त्वतिक्रान्ते मनोः ह्येकादशे प्रभोः ।
अथावशिष्टे तस्मिंस्तु द्वापरे संप्रवर्तिते ॥
मरुत्तस्य नरिष्यन्तस्तस्य पुत्रो दमः किल ।
राज्यवर्द्धनकस्तस्य सुधृतिस्तत्सुतो नरः ।
केवलस्य ततस्तस्य बन्धुमान् वेगवांस्ततः ।
बुधस्याभवत्तस्य तृणबिन्दुर्महीपतिः । (ब्रह्माण्डपुराणे २ । ३ । ८ । ३४-३६)

For the complete reference of व्यासपरम्परा and परिवर्तयुग (28 *yugas*), please see वायुपुराण अध्याय २३); I think it undesirable to quote the whole chapter in the article.

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THE ĀKHYĀNA OF LAVA AND KUŚA IN THE MEDIEVAL GUJARATI LITERATURE—IN THE LIGHT OF THE VĀLMĪKI RĀMĀYAṆA

By

DEVDATTA JOSHI* ×

An Ākhyāna is the most important and popular form of poetry of the medieval Gujarati literature. It is a poem (or a prose-piece at times) that gives detailed oral narration as it is derived from Ā + khyā (telling from all sides). There may be a side event alongwith the main episode presented in an interesting style. As it is heard only the narrator brings the imaginary additions, word-images and the like with a rhythemical approach so that weakness of the topic is covered up.

Some Ākhyānas on Lava and Kuśa are found in the medieval Gujarati Rāmakathā literature. Here is being presented the information about the works of Nākara, Viṣṇudāsa, Raghurāma, Śaṁbhurāma and one so called unknown poet. In the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa we find that the sons of sages conveyed the news of Sītā's delivering twin sons to Vālmīki and requested him that the twins might be protected against the evil influence of planets or evil spirits. Vālmīki went to see the sons and protected them by destroying the evil spirits and demons. (He cut the Darbha blade into two equal parts, and gave these parts—the upper part known as Kusha and lower part alongwith the roots known as Lava—to the ascetics to sprinkle them with these parts. The old ascetic ladies sprinkled the sons and protected them from evil spirits and demons.) Then Vālmīki gave the name of Kuśa to that child who was sprinkled by Kusha and name of Lava to that child who was sprinkled by Lava. Śatrughna was also present in Vālmīki's Ashram on that day. He rejoices on hearing these news. When he comes again to the Ashram he hears the song of Rāmāyaṇa but he does not think good to ask about it. At the time of Aśvamedha sacrifice, Vālmīki receives invitation. He comes (to Ayodhyā) with Lava and Kuśa and tells them to recite the Rāmacarita on the highways, palaces, before the priests etc. On hearing the recital of Rāmacarita in the pendal of sacrifice, Rāma is much impressed. The kings and the hermits exchange the views that the twins look exactly like

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Rāmacandrajī. When Rāma asks about Lava and Kuśa they introduce themselves as the students of Vālmīki and do not accept the gifts. Vālmīki assuring about the perfect purity of Sītā, introduces them as the sons of Rāma.

Now let us see in what manner these poets of the medieval Gujarat present this theme of Vālmīki. The works of all other poets except that of Viṣṇudāsa are available in the form of manuscripts.

Nākara—V.S. 1572 to 1624.[1] This important poet Nākara has composed the 'Lava-Kuśa Ākhyāna' in the form of a dialogue between Jaiminī and Janamejaya. Between whom there was a battle like that of Babruvāhana and Arjuna? In reply to this question of Janamejaya, Jaiminī gives the illustration of the army of Lava-Kuśa and Rāma (Even Viṣṇudāsa and Raghurāma also present the theme in the form of this dialogue). There is no information in the work about the date of composition etc. At the end the name of the poet is 'Nākara—the slave of Hari.' In this work of 17 Sections (Kaḍavuṃ-a Section), possessing copāī metre, we find the biography of Rāma's later life. The poem is adorned by similes (उपमा) like जीर्ण त्वचा वशीहर त्यजे जानकीनि त्यजु त्यम् (I would abandon Jānakī as a serpant would give up it's Slough). The chief sentiments are Karuṇa (Pathos) and Vīra (Heroism). Lakṣmaṇa and Bharata are not able to understand the secret of Sītā's abandonment. When Sītā goes to the forest, Kauśalyā speaks to her (in joke) if she is not completely contented by forest-stay and bids her fare-well with joy. When the chariot starts, some evil omens take place. We find both these episodes in the work of Śambhurāma too. The poet has portrayed the lamentation of the horses which go to leave Sītā in the forest when Sītā is being informed that she has been abandoned (by Rāma, she laments much. In the words of Sītā to Lakṣmaṇa when the later abandons her near the Ashrama, we find the belief of the poet in the theory of deeds

अरे लक्ष्मण बापडा, नथी माहारो वांक,
वांक माहारा कर्मनो ते आडो आव्यो आंक

[Oh pitiable Lakṣmaṇa, this is not my fault; it is the fault of my misdeed which has been an obstacle (to my happiness)].

In the work of Śambhurāma when Sītā doubts that they have entered the thick forest instead of going to the Ashrama, she speaks to Lakṣmaṇa

"हांरे लक्ष्मण वीर बापडा, नथी रमतां कृषिबाल" (P. 16)

(Oh my pitiable yet brave Lakṣmaṇa, here are not playing the children of the peasants). The expression of sorrow (हाय) in the tune of हांरे is felt to be the same in both the works. And yet when she experiences the uniqueness with

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1 Śāstrī K. K. 'Kavi-Carita' pub. Jethālāla Gāndhī, Gujarāta Vidyā Sabhā, Ahmedabad, 1952, p. 203.

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Rāma, her pathetic condition becomes very deep. Showing the influence of her pathetic condition on nature, Nākara says:

सीता रोतां वन रोउ, रोइ पंखीनी जाति
थावरजंगम सवै को रोयूं, रोइ विहोणी रातीं

[on Sītā's lamentations, the forest wept, the entire bird-class shed tears, each one of the animate and inanimate objects and even the night (bereft of moon) poured tears].

The same type of effect (on nature) is described by Śambhurāma with a slight change :

सीता रोते रोयुं वन, रोयां पशुपंखीजलजन
रोये देवगांधव ने यक्ष, रोये पर्वतना वृक्षेवृक्ष (P. 21)

(on the bemoaning of Sītā, the forest, beasts and birds, the acquatic animals wept; the Gods, Gāndharvas and Yakṣas grieved and each tree of the mountain cried aloud).

The lamentation of Sītā is also met with in the works of Raghurāma. Sītā expresses many recollections at the time of conveying a message to Rāma and bestows blessings on Lakṣmaṇa. This episode is found in the works of Nākara, Raghurāma and Śambhurāma. The narration of Sītā's stopping herself from committing suicide as it would produce the slaughter of the child, is also done by Nākara and Raghurāma. While Nākara, Raghurāma and Śambhurāma have described the episode in which the beasts and birds, coming quickly on hearing the lamentation of Sītā, serve her.

A battle between Lava-Kuśa on one side who tied the horse and the men of Rāma takes place. The attendent of Rāma describing the heroism of these twins, speaks to Rāma :

स्वामी पर्वत चूरण थया पगने प्राहारि ऊडी गया

[Lord ! the mountains were powdered and flew (in the sky) by the strokes of the feet]. The minister asks Lava-Kuśa to introduce themselves but instead of giving a reply to this, Lava-Kuśa warn him to be alert with weapons. The portrait of Lava and Kuśa who retort in the words

तमारी बुद्धि बलहीन ज थइ, यारि सीतारूपिणी सिध्य ज गइ

(Your intellect has lost its' power when your spiritual achievement in the form of Sītā has gone away) is very nice. The description of the forest near the Ashrama is almost the same in the works of Nākara, Viṣṇudāsa and that of Śambhurāma which has caught hold of the impress of that of Nākara. Nākara, describing the Ashrama of Vālmīki utters :

शत्रुमित्र को न लहि मर्म करि अध्यन नि चालि धर्म अनि चालि बहु खटकर्म

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(There was no enemy or friend; all observed Dharma and did their study and performed the six religious rites). Moreover there the tiger and the cow go for grazing to-gether, sleep or sit to-gether in the same forest and do not hate each other. Nākara, Viṣṇudāsa and Śambhurāma describe the episode in which Lava-Kuśa fasten Nala, Nīla and Hanumāna snatching away the ornaments of Rāma and take them before Sītā. Sītā cries aloud and when she scolds Lava and Kuśa for having beaten Rāma, we find the belief of the poet Nākara in the theory of destiny (or Fate) in the words of Lava and Kusa viz.

हनार पदारथ होय सही तेहने तां प्रतीकार ज नही

(For that which is destined is bound to take place and nobody can make it otherwise)

There are two Manuscripts of the Lava-Kuśa Ākhyāna of Nākara in the Oriental Institute of M. S. University, Baroda, viz. No. 816 and No. 1018. Out of these two, the manuscript No. 1018 seems to possess the modern form of language. The manuscript No. 816 is written in V. S. 1726 beginning in the month of Āṣāḍha and Śaka year 1591 for Indrijika belonging to Kaḍavā Patel caste for his own reading. Manuscript No. 1018 was written in the year V. S. 1866. The writer used to make changes in the scripts owing to the change of language. Another third manuscript of Lava-Kuśa Ākhyāna on the name of some unknown poet is also available in the Oriental Institute. Its' No. is 2490. Though the work is believed to be that of an unknown poet, we get the poets' name at the end of the work as follows :

देवगुरुपरसादे करी करो कथानो अभास
बेउ कर जोडी प्रणमे नाथो ते हरनो दास

(The study of the Kathā has been done by the grace of the lord and the spiritual Teacher : Nātho, the servant of Hari, salutes with folded hands.) While the following text is found at the end of manuscript No. 1018 :

विद्यागुरुने प्रसादाओ कर्यो कथानो अभ्यास
कर जोडीने वीनवे नागर हरिनो दास

(The study of the Kathā was done by obtaining the grace of Vidyā-Guru; Nāgar, the servant of Hari requests with folded hands.) Here " Nāgara the servant of Hari " is himself Nākara but in the manuscript of the unknown poet we find the mention of the name as " Nātho, the servant of Hari ".

In the manuscript No. 816 and manuscript No. 2490, some lines appear to be somewhat similar e.g. in the episode of the washerman

अश्रींभरथार वहा हता प्रेमदाने कीधो प्रहार
रीसावी ते रामा गइ तेना पिता केरे द्वार (2490)

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(The wife and the husband quarreled and the latter beat the lady; being displeased the woman went to her father's house (2490).

The same lines appear with a slight change in the manuscript No. 816.

We find some similarity as well as some difference in the episode.

In script No. 816 there is a reference of the birth of a pair of Lava-Kuśa while in the script No. 2490, there is an episode of she-monkey. The she-monkey takes jumps with her kid. Sītā advises it that its' kid will fall down; you being a beast have no knowledge etc. The she-monkey curses Sītā that as she calls it an animal, her (Sītā's) child will suffer a destructive blow. Sītā goes out keeping the child alone. The child is lost. Vālmīki creates a child from Kuśa blade. The real child is also regained, etc. The same episode is narrated in the work of Viṣṇudāsa, while in the work of Śambhurāma it appears with some changes— Sītā scolds the she-monkey as to why does it not take care of its' kid? After this the son of Sītā is lost. Sītā has gone to the riverside. Vālmīki is worried and puzzled as to how he will explain to Sītā when she returns and so he creates the son from Kuśa blade. But Sītā herself had carried the son with her to the riverside and Vālmīki thought him to be lost. On the return of Sītā, there were two sons. The son produced from Kuśa blade was named Kuśa.

Such episodes being current in the society, are being described knowingly or unknowingly by the poets. Keeping in mind the taste of the people, the story-tellers and Kathākāras sometimes string to-gether such other current episodes (in their Ākhyānas) knowingly and without depending upon the original story of Vālmīki.

We find slight differences in the episodes of the story that are given in the script No. 816 and in the script No. 2490. According to script No. 816, the soldiers of the army of Rāma ask the introduction of Lava-Kuśa, when they come to know that they are sons of Rāma himself. But in script No. 2490, Rāma asks Sugrīva as to whose sons these might be. Sugrīva introduces them to Rāma as the sons of Sītā. In the same script, Lava and Kuśa show to Sītā four monkeys who were fastened and carried away by them and informing her that Bharata, Śatrughna, Lakṣmaṇa and Rāma are kept in the battlefield. On hearing this, Sītā speaks to them that they have killed their father. Vālmīki entering the deep abyss ((पाताल) of the earth, brings the plants that restores life and make them all alive and effects the meeting with Rāma etc. While in script No. 816 on hearing the talk of Lava and Kuśa, Vālmīki goes there, makes them alive and introduces Rāma. In script No. 2490, the valour of Lava and Kuśa in the description of the battle between Lava-Kuśa and Śatrughna is shown:

पूछ ग्रही हस्ती आछेटे जिम धोबी कापड पाछटे
उलाले ऊंचा आकास जइ पडे सत्रुघनने पास

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(They throw down violently the elephants, holding their tails as the washerman would wash on the ground the clothes; they are tossed up in the sky and fall down near Śatrughna).

The effect of the battle :

गिरी परवत त्रूटी पडा सेसनाग मेली धरण

(The hills and mountains break down; the serpant Lord keeps aside the earth).

It seems that this relevant work is being written under the influence of Nākara's work.

Viṣṇudāsa has composed the Lava-Kuśa-Ākhyāna during V.S. 1624 to V.S. 1634 approx.[2] The story of this Ākhyāna having 28 Sections (Kaḍavāṃ) resembles almost that of Nākara. At the end of each section (Kaḍavuṃ) there is a mention of poets' name in the words :

कर जोडी केहे विष्णुदास

(Viṣṇudāsa speaks with folded hands.) In this we find the tradition of Medieval Gujarati Ākhyāna being maintained. The poet mentions the names of different trees in order to show the thickness and dreadfulness of the forest.

तांहां बावळीया ने बोरडी, कंकोल ने कंथार
करमदी ने काचकी, कौच तणो नही पार;
बहेडा ने लीमडा घणा, सूकां वृक्ष बीजां तहां,
एखरो दर्भ ने रींगणी, आवळ ऊगी छे अहीं;
शेखावली जवासा घणा, सूकां वृक्ष बहु सार,
काग कागारोळ करे बहु, रान होय अपार (पृ. ७०-७१)

[There are babul trees and jujube trees, kankol trees and copparis sepiaria trees, corinda plants and thorny plants of काचकी and कौच are in abundance. There are many beleric myrobalan and neam trees, and many other dry trees; there are trees of hygrophila spinosa, Darbha and brinjals. Fruitless आवळ is also grown here. The crows are crying much and there is a huge sound of it (p. 70-71)].

The description of the forest done by Nākara and Śambhurāma is the same with some difference of the use of words. It becomes a tradition of the forest description in Medieval Gujarati literature. The poet has expressed his indebtedness to the predecessor poets. In mentioning the numbers of the sections (Kaḍavāṃ) etc. in the Ākhyāna also, the traditional usage of the medieval Ākhyānas is maintained. We also find the use of the modes of classical music like सामग्री, मेघघोडी, सामेरी, केदारो, भीमपलासी, सोरठी, वेराडी, मारूणी, आंदोल, धवलधन्याश्री, आशावरी, etc. and also the modes of traditional music of Ākhyānas.

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2 Ibid—p. 347 and Rāvala Chaganalala V. (Researcher) ' Prācīna Kāvya-sudhā-3,' Pub. Śetha Haṃsarāja Puruṣottama Viśrāma, Bombay, 1938, pp.54-105.

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Raghurāma[3] (The name of this poet in 'Granth ane Granthakāra' is Raghudāsa)[4] composes the 'Lava-Kuśa-Ākhyāna in V.S. 1772, in 14 Sections (Kaḍavāṃ). He describes the theme beginning from Rāma's arrival to Ayodhya after killing Rāvaṇa and ending upto Vālmīki's handing over Lava and Kuśa to Rama. We do not find the benedictory stanza which is generally found in the Ākhyānas but there is only the mention of श्रीगणेशाय नमः (Salute to Śrī Gaṇeśa). The work is composed by using the tunes of songs used in the Ākhyānas in the form of चोपाई. There also occurs the statements about the fruits of acts in between the poem. There is a reference in the work that the story was heard from Kṛṣṇarāma Bhatta. It was then composed in the form of Ākhyāna and then it was to be told by way of religious discourse. It can be considered as a contribution of oral tradition to a written tradition. It is convinced that the poet must be working as a writer of Ākhyānas and then as Haradāsa before the people:

" कथा केवे रघुराम हरिदास, प्रभुपद देजो " (क. ९)
" कृष्णराम भट केहे कथा ए पदबंधन रघुराम करे महिमा ए (क. ९)

[The Servant of Hari viz. Raghurāma is telling the religious discourse, may God bestow refuge in his feet—Kṛṣṇarāma Bhatta speaks the religious discourse, (while) Raghurāma with its' greatness, composes it in poetry form (Section-9).]

The army of Śatrughna was so huge that the river which was crossed by them itself disappeared. The poet intends to say that such a huge army was defeated by Lava and Kuśa. The character of Rāma experiencing mental tension at the time of Sītā's abandonment is pathetic. The grief of Rāma increases as he sends Sītā to the forest cheating her under the pretext of having a look at the Ashramas. The special feature of this work lies in the description that all the eighteen classes of people came to receive Rāma when the latter came to Ayodhyā after completing the period of forest-stay

वणिक शोवणकार खातरी माली तंबोली जातरी
घांचा कडिया चोरणभाट गुणगाध्रव धोबीनी जात

(The merchant, goldsmith, warrior class, gardener, seller of betel leaves, oil presser, bricklayer, the bards, singers, washerman etc.).

In Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa Lava-Kuśa are able to know Rāma during their recital of the Rāmāyaṇa but here the story-teller describes the battle in order to fulfil the aim of entertainment of the people while the aim of Lava-Kuśa reciting Rāmāyaṇa to be introduced to Rāma is subsidiary.

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3 Gujarāta Vidyāsabhā, Ahmedabad, Manuscript No. 371.

4 Pārekha Hirālāla T. 'Grantha ane Granthakāra-3,' pub. Gujarāta Vidyāsabhā, Ahmedabad, 1932, First ed.

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Śambhurāma composes Lava-Kuśa-Ākhyāna in V S. 1795.[5] He is a native of Baroda belonging to Nāgara caste, the date of composition is V. S. 1795, all these details are given at the end of the work. We find here the tradition of Ākhyāna in Gujarati literature of giving the introduction of the poet. This Ākhyāna of 30 Sections (Kaḍavāṃ) is in the form of a dialogue or discourse between Janamejaya and Vaiśaṃpāyana. Janamejaya puts a question: who fought a battle like that fought by Bhīṣma, Droṇa, Indra, Vṛtrāsura, Arjuna and Babruvāhana ? In reply to this question Vaiśaṃpāyana tells the story of Lava and Kuśa. The poet has followed the method of the Ākhyāna viz. वलण (verse in poem indicating change in metre) and suggestion of the forthcoming story and the substance of the preceeding story etc. at the end of the section (Kaḍavuṃ). The poet describes the influence of the army of Lakṣmaṇa

गिरि परवत चूरण थइ गया अश्वपडगीये मारग थया

(The hills and mountains were powdered and by the footprints of the horses hoofs made the ways)

Not only this, this is exaggerated as follows :

एहवा घाया पाखरीया भली दांत खोतरवा न मली सली (पृ. ४०)

(The horses with armour on their body ran so fast that a single tooth-pick was not available.)

We find the lines of the ' Daśamaskandha ' of Premānanda (probably, 1649 to 1714 A.D.) flashing in the lamentation of Sītā. In the ' Daśamaskandha ' when Kṛṣṇa Jumps in the Yamunā Jaśodā crying aloud speaks :

काष्टपे पाषाण कठीण छे, ते पे कठीण छे लोढुं;
वज्रतुल्य छे काळजुं मारुं लोकने शुं देखाडुं मोढुं.

[The stone is harder than the wood; the iron is much more hard than the stone. (but) my heart is just like thunderbolt, how shall I be able to show my face to the people ?] Śambhurāma speaks in Sītā's lamentations :

मा होये काष्टपे कठण पाषाण पाषाणपे कठीण लोहनी खाण;
लोहपे कठण वज्र सहु वदे वज्रपे कठण छे मुज हृदे (पृ. २१)

(The stone would be harder than wood, the mine of iron is harder than the stone, it is so said that, the thunderbolt is harder than the stone, but alas, my heart is much more hard than even the thunderbolt (p. 21). Śatrughna, explaining Rāma that he should not make a decision to abandon Sītā on the words of a washerman, speaks :

कांहां समुद्र ने खाडीनीर लागुं कल्पवृक्षने धुम खरसाणनुं (पृ. १०)

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5 Gujarāta Vidyāsabhā, Ahmedabada, MS. No. 241, p. 1-15 brittle.

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(Where is the ocean and the water of inlet on the other; where is the wishyielding tree on one side and the dry grass on the other side.)

This is an illustration of विरोध अलंकार. Rāma showing the fear of abandoning Sītā speaks

जीरण जम तजे कंचुकी साप, तम अबला तजी राखुं आप (पृ. १३)

[As the serpant abandons the old slough, I maintain my ego (आप) by abandoning the feeble woman]. This is an illustration of simile. Nākara also uses this उपमा. For the weeping of Sītā, he uses the उपमा, " गिरिए मेघनी धार " (the mountain shed the shower of rain). In Section 29, the description of Rāma's return journey to Ayodhyā with Sītā, Lava and Kuśa, is given by the poet in the musical note known as Fāga (फाग). In this we find the impress of Vraja language:

राम चले रंगमोहोलकु आजनीको दिन हां रे

सुंदर शोभा सोहांवनी भये भ्रात मगन (पृ. ६०)

(Rāma is going to the pleasure house this to-day; there is a fine decoration and the brothers are rejoining).

We find that in an Ākhyāna type of poetry, there is always the influence of the works of the predecessor poets in the works of the successor poets. Ākhyāna is a form of that type of poetry which maintains both the oral tradition and the literary tradition. And so if it is spoken in the method of a religious discourse, it is natural that the current topics and lines would be interwoven in it. It was not the age of copyright. The literature which was produced was a collective heritage (a heritage relating to a multitude). Moreover the poet composing Ākhyāna never desired to win the fame as a poet by composing poems. The propaganda of Bhakti was the important aim of the creative literature. This characteristic of the medieval Gujarati literature is found in the Lava-Kuśa-Ākhyānas.

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THE FAMILY OF ŚIVA: EVOLUTION OF ŚIVA AND OF HIS HOSTS

By
Y. KRISHAN*

Śiva is one of the most pre-eminent gods of the Hindu pantheon. He is non-existent in the Vedic pantheon but comes to be a dominant god in the epic and paurānic mythology.

The emergence of Śiva in the Hindu pantheon can be studied from two aspects :

(a) the transformation of Vedic Rudra into epic Śiva and

(b) how Śiva, the beneficent, came to acquire hosts of attendants or followers who are evil or impish in nature.

(a) Amalgamation of Rudra with Śiva.

Śiva as a god is non-existent in the Vedas. In the Vedic literature the word *śiva* as an adjective means auspicious, prosperous, benign, gracious, benevolent. There are a number of *svasti mantras* expressing *śivasaṁkalpa* prayer for benediction, for auspiciousness.

In the post-vedic epic literature Śiva is the name of one of the three great gods of Hinduism. Again in epic mythology Brahmā displaces Vedic Prajāpati as the creator, Viṣṇu who is relatively a minor god in the *Ṛg Veda*, emerges as one of the three dominant gods—Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva.

In the epic period, Rudra[1] the Vedic god of destruction and evil comes to be identified with Śiva. The word *rudra* as a verb means howling, roaring and as an adjective it means terrific, dreadful, horrible. As a proper noun, that is, as the name of a *Vedic* god, he is the god of Māruts, tempests, and lightning. Māruts cause evil *RV* I.39.8. Rudra is also Kāla, Time the great consumer, Death. The *Śvetāśvatara upaniṣad* (*Śve. up.*) paves the way for the fusion of Rudra with Śiva. *Śve.up.* 3.2 describes Rudra as without a second, (*ekohi, rudro na dvitīya*); *Śve.up.* 3.4 calls him *śiva* and in *Śve.up.* 6.7 he is called Maheśvara.

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1 For the characteristics of Rudra see A. A. Macdonell: *Vedic Mythology*, Indological Book House, Delhi 1971-8 22. pp. 74-77 (Rudra was an object of dread to the *Ṛg* Vedic Āryans; his arrows brought plague and disaster. He was treated as an outcast by the gods and excluded from sacrifices and denied a share in the offerings. Stella Kramrisch: *The Presence of Śiva*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1981, pp. 315 and 59.

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In the post-Vedic epic period, Rudra is identified with Śiva. Now his characteristics as a Vedic adjective howling, terrifying, dreadful, tempestuous-are transferred to Śiva. So Śiva becomes the god of destruction of *Rudras*.

Vedic Rudra, however, is not exclusively an evil god or god of destruction. He is also beneficent inasmuch as he is a healer. He is also called Śiva. The healing powers of Rudra is sometimes referred to in the other *saṁhitās* (V.S. 3.59, 16.5, 9; AV 9.27.6) but much less frequently than his destructive activity.[2] Vedic Rudra is also a dweller of mountains. He is also called *paśupati* lord of beasts. The post vedic Śiva resides in Mt. Kailāśa and is commonly called Paśupati, lord of the beasts.

So, the transfer of the attributes of Rudra to Śiva was an easy operation. Śiva stands for benediction, auspiciousness, benevolence. The characteristics of epic Śiva embody the characteristics of Vedic Rudra; hence Śiva and Rudra now become synonymous. Śiva Rudra. Vedic Rudra is Tryambaka; epic Śiva acquires the same name.

It is also relevant to mention that in the Post Vedic epic mythology, Śiva also replaces Vedic Indra. Vedic Rudra was an ally of Indra and Vedic *Rudra-gaṇas* or Māruts were associates of Indra. Māruts are sons of Vedic Rudra but followers of Vedic Indra. A priori *Mārutgaṇas* or *Rudragaṇas* also becomes *Śivagaṇas*. In the post Vedic period, the Vedic deities recede into background : the more important of them like Indra and Varuṇa are reduced to the status of *dikpālas* the guardians of the Directions. In other words, Siva absorbs into himself all the features or characteristics of Rudra, becomes lord of *Rudragaṇas* or *śivagaṇas* and displaces Indra as the supreme god.

(b) The hosts of Śiva.

In the classical, post-Vedic Hindu mythology, Śiva's host consists of *gaṇas*, *bhūtas* and *pramathas*.

Gaṇas are considered as the personal attendants of Śiva; they act as his protectors. In the *saṁhitās*, the word *gaṇa* means throng, multitude, hosts, troops. This word in the Vedic texts merely refers to any multitude or troops and not specifically to Śiva's hosts. Māruts number as many as 108 or 21 and therefore are considered to be *gaṇas*. As *māruts*[3] they are the children of Rudra (*Ṛg Veda*) RV.I. 39.47; I. 114.69; 2.33.1 of Agni (RV) and of Vāyu.

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2 Macdonell, *ibid.*, p. 76.

3 Macdonell, *ibid.*, pp. 77-78. Also Macdonell, A *Vedic Reader for Students*. Oxford University Press, Madras 1977 (8th Impression) pp. 21-22. Telang N.K.S. and Chaubey B. B. *The New Vedic Selection*, Bharatiya Vidya Prakashan, Delhi, 1983, 4th ed., Pt. II, pp. 97-100.

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They are also the allies of Indra. They are also *Vedic* singers and possess healing remedies. As sons of Vāyu, they are treated as storm gods. As children of Rudra, they are malevolent because their father Rudra is a malevolent god, fierce and destructive. But, Rudra Rg. I.114 also possesses positive qualities; he bestows blessings, possesses healing powers; he is the greatest physician of physicians and preserves from calamity; he averts the anger or evil that comes from gods With the emergence of Rudra or Śiva as one of the dominant gods of Hinduism in the post-vedic epic period, *Rudragaṇa* or *śivānucara* as malevolent hosts acquire importance.

Bhūta[4] is another category of the hosts of Śiva. The word *bhūta*, inter alia, means a spirit (good or evil), a demon, imp or goblin.

In the Saṁhitās[5] (AV ii. 14.4, iii. 28.1) and on the *Bṛhaddevatā*[6] of Śaunaka (ii. 24; iii. 24, 30; vii. 128, 14.28, 20.32, 16.59), ***bhūta*** means a creature, a being and *bhūtagaṇa*s are all living beings, *manuṣyādi prāṇibhyaḥ*.

As Macdonell[7] points out, it is only in the post-Vedic Sanskrit that *bhūta* comes to mean an uncanny being, a spirit, ghost or goblin, whereas in the Vedic literature it meant a good being, a created thing. In other words, the *bhūta*s of the Vedic literature are not imps, evil spirits, goblins as in the post-Vedic literature. They were also not the hosts or attendants of Rudra or Śiva in the period of saṁhitās. It appears that in the post-Vedic period *bhūta* came to be identified with the new concept of *preta*[8], disembodied soul awaiting reincarnation or *gati* and acquired an ill repute.

Thus in the epic mythology, the *bhūta*s, as evil spirits, become the attendants of Rudra or Śiva who is called *bhūtādhipati*. *Pramatha*: In Vedic literature

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4 The word *bhūta* is also the name of Śiva. It also refers to any being.

5 Suryakant, *A Practical Vaidika Dictionary*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1981, Raj Vir Shastri, *Vaidika Koṣa* (Hindi) Arsha Sahitya Prachar Trust, Delhi, 1975.

6 Macdonel, A. A., *Bṛhad-Devatā of Śaunaka*, A Summary of the Deities and Myths of the *Rig Veda*, Motilal Banarasi Dass, Delhi, 1965 (reprint).

7 Macdonell, A. A. *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Award Publishing House, New Delhi, 1979 (Indian Ed.)

8 See Krishan, Y. 'The Doctrine of *Karma* and *Śrāddha*' *Annals* BORI LXVI Poona 1986. It should, however, be noted that the word *bhūta* has continued to be used in its Vedic connotation as a being. Thus in Kālidāsa *bhūta*s are sentient beings and Śiva is called *Bhūteśvara* and *Bhūtanātha* : See S. C. Banerjee: *Kālidāsa Koṣa* Chowkhamba, Varanasi, 1968.

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pramatha is derived from the root word *pra* √ *math*, √ manth meaning to churn,[9] to denote *pra-māthiṣṭan*.[10] It is used only as a verb and not as a noun. According to Macdonell [11] *pramatha* means a teaser; according to Apte,[12] the *Vedic* meaning is to rob, or he who robs. a tormentor. It is in the *Mbh*.[13] and *Harivaṁśa* [14] that Śiva becomes *pramathanātha*, lord of *pramatha*s and *pramatha*s become a class of demons attendant on Śiva. They are described as *niśācara* (night wanderers) and killers of other beings. In the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* 2.34.33, Vināyaka son of Pārvatī is described as lord of *pramatha*s and is glorified as Gaṇeśa.

Thus, we notice a great transformation in the nature or character of *gaṇa*s, *bhūta*s and *pramatha*s between the Vedic and post-Vedic period. In the Vedic mythology,

(a) *gaṇa*s were just a troop, a host, a multitude;

(b) *bhūta*s were spirits or any being;

(c) *pramatha* was a Churning or tormenting, activity. In the post-Vedic classical mythology, *gaṇa*s become specifically malevolent hosts of Rudra, or Śiva, *bhūta*s become evil spirits attending upon Śiva and *pramatha*s become a class of demons who torment their victim. Perhaps they come to be deemed as an indistinguishable class of Śiva's attendants, synonyms for Śiva's hosts.[15]

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9 Suryakant, *ibid*., Raj Vir Shastri : *ibid*.

10 AV (*Śaunaka*) XIX 40.2 & (*Paippalāda*) 20.57.3.

11 Macdonell, *ibid*.

12 Apte, V. S. *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Prasad Prakashan, Poona, 1957.

13 In the *Śivastotra* of the *Mahābhārata* cr. ed., Vol. 16 in 12 Appendix 1 No. 28 Śiva is called *pramathanātha*. In the *Mbh*. 13 appendix No. 14 verses 450-470, the nature of *pramatha*s is described. Both these references to *pramatha*s are interpolations in *Harivaṁśa*. In the *Vāmanapurāṇa* 31-67, *pramathanāthas* were given by Himālaya and Yama to Kārttikeya.

14 Hopkins, E. W. *Epic Mythology*, Motilal Banarasi Dass, Delhi, 1974 (ed.), pp. 44.

15 Aggarawala, V. S. ' Meaning of Gaṇapati.' *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda, Vol. XIII Sept. 1963 p. 1 observes ' *gaṇa* is a *pramatha*, *bhūta*, *Yakṣa*, *rākṣasa*, that which is deformed or ugly is a *gaṇa*.' Similarly, according to M. A. Dhaky ' *Bhūtas* and *Bhūtanāyakas* : ' Elementals and their Captains ' in M. W. Meister (ed.): *Discourses on Śiva*, Bombay Vakils, Feffer and Simons Ltd., Bombay, 1984, the *Purāṇa*s use terms synonymously between *gaṇa*s, *pramatha*s, *gaṇeśavara* or Gaṇeśa. He makes a reference to a medieval southern Śaivite view, that *bhūta*s, *piśāca*s, *kumbhaṇḍa*s are all classified under the category of inferior gods, Dhaky *ibid*., p. 249.

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How do we account for this transformation?

As Hopkins [16] has observed " In both epics, the older gods are reduced in estate, insofar as they represent personifications of nature; in both, new gods are enthroned over and above the old." This is evident in the fact that in the post-Vedic, Epic and Paurāṇic mythology, the Vedic gods like Indra, Vāyu, Agni etc. lose importance. Indra becomes one of the *lokapālas*, guardians of the directions. Similarly, Vāyu was essentially a messenger and servant of Vedic Indra. When Indra was downgraded Vāyu also lost his eminent Vedic status. Agni, as embodiment of Vedic *Yajña* also, comes to be displaced by the doctrine of *Karma* propounded by the Upaniṣads, Buddhism and Jainism. On the other hand, Rudra, in the form of Śiva, becomes one of the dominant gods of Hinduism. It is perhaps as a consequence of this decline in the importance of Indra, Vāyu, Agni, that *gaṇas* as Māruts sons of Agni and Vāyu and allies of Indra, lose significance. They primarily become *rudragaṇa* and hence *śivagaṇa*, the hosts of Rudra/Śiva.

Thus, it appears that as a part of the process of the transformation of Vedic mythology into epic mythology, the hosts of (*gaṇas*) Vāyu and Agni and the allies of Indra, became assimilated to the *rudragaṇas* who were malevolent in character like their master or leader. The *bhūtas* and *pramathas* also became the followers of the new mighty god Śiva. *Bhūtas* as followers of Śiva or Rudra acquired an evil character, goblins, akin to *rudragaṇas*, *pramathas*, as tormentors could also be easily identified with *rudragaṇas*. In other words, the Vedic *gaṇas* shed their ambivalent, nay multiple but confusing character; they came to acquire an exclusively malevolent, fierce and destructive character. They became indistinguishable from *pramathas*. The *bhūtas* survive by being identified with *gaṇas*.

In short, *rudragaṇas* become the principal attendants of Śiva; the attendants also included now *bhūtas* [17] and *pramathas*.[18] The Vedic *bhūtas* and *pramathas* were nominally retained but within the omnibus body of *gaṇas* who acquired exclusively a malevolent character. Gaṇeśa is the leader [19] of *gaṇas*.

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16 Hopkins E. W. *Epic Mythology*, Delhi, 1974 (reprint), pp. 2-3.

17 Hopkins, *ibid.*, p. 37.

18 Hopkins, *ibid.*, p. 44. This explains the statements of Kṛṣṇa to Pārvatī in the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* 2.3.42.33 that 'your son (Vināyaka) is the lord of *pramathas* of various forms and of great strength (*Pramathārām gaṇā ye ca nānārūpā mahābalāḥ teṣāmīśastvayam*) and of *Vāmanapurāṇa* 44.17 wherein *pramathas* are described as Vināyaka etc. *Vināyakādi pramathāḥ*.

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SENTENCE AND ITS MEANING IN ADVAITA VEDĀNTA

By

K. N. NEELAKANTAN Elayath*

In Advaita, though *Śabdapramāṇa* operates only in the sphere of *avidyā* liberation is attained through a process which requires *śabda*. The eligible person not only has to hear the *Mahāvākyas* like *Tattvamasi* but also has to understand the meaning of those sentences. It is in this context that Advaitins are concerned with the problems of sentence-meaning. What are the types of sentences? What is the meaning of a sentence and how that meaning is made known? How the various theories of meaning can be applied for the proper interpretation of the *Mahāvākyas*? In Advaita works, these questions largely figure in discussions on the problem of sentence-meaning. However the main interest of Advaitins lies in interpreting the *Mahāvākyas* of the Upaniṣads which according to them reveal an impartite meaning or *akhaṇḍārtha*.

Śakti

The unitary meaning of the sentence often called *samsarga* or *bheda* is conveyed by the denotative power of the constituent words in that sentence. The denotative power of words in Advaita is of two types[1]—*Śakti* and *Lakṣaṇā*—primary and secondary denotative powers of words respectively. Of these *Śakti*, the primary denotative power of words subsists in generic (*jāti*) and not in particular (*vyakti*). It is inferred to exist in words from the effect in the form of word-senses. If the *śakti* resides only in generic the question arises as to how the particular is understood from words like cow, pot etc. The cognition of the particular in these contexts is explained by Advaitins in three ways.[2] It is cognised by the same cognition which cognises the particular. Moreover, there is no delay in the cognition of the particular because of the absence of *Śakti* in it. Or *Śakti* with regard to particular is the cause as itself existent and not as cognised. Yet another explanation given is that the particular can be cognised

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1 See *Vedānta-paribhāṣā* (VP) Adyar, 1971, p. 69. Some later Advaitins like Madhusūdana Sarasvatī accept also *Vyañjanā*. See *Vedānta Kalpalatikā*, Poona, 1972, p. 78 and *Bhaktirasāyana*, Varanasi, 1950.

2 VP., p. 70 ff.

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through *lakṣaṇā* i.e., *lakṣaṇā* may be resorted to the generic to get the knowledge of the particular.

Lakṣaṇā

Lakṣaṇā, the secondary denotative power of words is classified by Advaitins first into two[3] : *Kevala lakṣaṇā* and *lakṣitalakṣaṇā*. The first is the direct relation to the primary meaning for example "*gaṅgāyām ghoṣaḥ.*" The second is the cognition of another sense through indirect relation with the primary meaning, for example when the word '*dvirepha*' denotes a *bhramara*—bee. The figurative usages like '*simho māṇavakaḥ*'—the pupil is a lion—is also included in *lakṣitalakṣaṇā*.

Another classification which is older than the former in the Advaitic tradition makes *lakṣaṇā* three fold[4] : *jahatsvārthā*, *ajahatsvārthā* and *jahadajahatsvārthā* or *bhāga lakṣaṇā*. The basis for this division is the extent to which the primary meaning of a word is retained or abandoned.

In certain cases due to the incompatibility of the sense in a sentence the primary meaning of a word is abandoned and another meaning is accepted. In the example "*gaṅgāyām ghoṣaḥ*" (The village is on the Ganges) the primary meaning of the word Gaṅgā (i.e., *pravāha*) is abandoned and the secondary meaning *tīra* (bank) is accepted to suit the context. This is *jahatsvārthā lakṣaṇā*.

Sometimes another meaning is accepted without abandoning the primary sense of a word. In the example '*śuklo ghaṭaḥ*' (the pot is white) the word '*śukla*' being indicative of the quality of whiteness denotes by *lakṣaṇā* the substance qualified by whiteness. This is *ajahatsvārthā*.

Jahadajahal lakṣaṇā is where only a part of the primary sense is rejected while another part is retained. For example in '*paṭo dagdhaḥ*' (the cloth is burnt) only a part of the primary meaning of *paṭa* is retained. In sentences like '*Soyam Devadattaḥ*' (This is that *Devadatta*), the word *Saḥ* (that) refers to *Devadatta* qualified by past-time and the word '*ayam*' (this) refers to the same *Devadatta* qualified by the present time. As they cannot be identical the sentence means the identity of the substantive *Devadatta* by abandoning the incompatible elements. Similarly in *tattvamasi* (thou art that) also the word *tat* means consciousness qualified by omniscience and *tvam* means consciousness qualified by limited intelligence. Between these two, identity is impossible. By *lakṣaṇā* the incompatible elements in *tat* and *tvam* are rejected and identity of pure consciousness is taken to be the meaning of the sentence. The words *tat* and *tvam* in this sentence reveal pure consciousness by *Jahadajahallakṣaṇā*.

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3 VP., p. 72

4 VP., p. 73 ff.

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Like the Mīmāṁsakas Advaitins also accept *lakṣaṇā* in sentences.[5] In sentences like '*gambhīrāyām nadyām ghoṣaḥ*' (the village is on the deep river) *lakṣaṇā* is accepted not for *nadī* but for the combination of the words '*gambhīrāyām*' and *nadyām*. This explains the sentences of the *arthavāda* type in the Vedas where it is not a word but the whole sentence which gives the *lakṣyārtha* or implied meaning.

Conditions of knowing the sentencial meaning

The conditions of knowing the meaning of a sentence are said to be four *ākāṅkṣā* (expectancy) *yogyatā* (competancy) *āsatti* (proximity) and *tātparyajñāna* (cognition of the intention of the speaker).[6] While accepting this, the Advaitins like later Naiyyāyikas attach great importance to *tātparyajñāna*. *Tātparya* is said to exist in a sentence 'which is competent to create a particular verbal cognition and which is not uttered with a desire for creating another cognition.'' [7] In the Vedas *tātparya* is known by the principles laid down by Mīmāṁsakas while in ordinary sentences it is determined by contextual factors. Later Advaitins like Madhusūdana hold that all functions of words are governed by *tātparyajñāna*.[8]

Anvitābhidhānavāda and abhihitānvyayavāda

The unified meaning of a sentence, thus, conveyed through *ākāṅkṣā* etc. is said to be either *samsarga* (mutual association of word-meanings) or *bheda* (mutual exclusion of word-meanings).[9] In both, it involves the inter-relation between the word-meanings in that sentence. For example the sentence *nīlo ghaṭaḥ* (the pot is blue) presents the meaning that both the quality *nīla* and the *ghaṭa* are identical. As in Pūrvamīmāṁsā, in Advaita also this relation between the meaning of the words in a sentence is explained by the two famous theories *anvitābhidhānavāda* and *abhihitānvyayavāda*.[10]

According to *anvitābhidhānavāda* it is the *śakti* of words that presents the meaning of the words as well as their interrelation. Thus the word has two *śaktis*: the first reveals the word-meaning and the second (often called *Kubjaśakti* which remains outside cognition) reveals the relationship of word-meanings with other word-meanings in that sentence. In *abhihitānvayavāda* though word-meaning is

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5 VP., p. 77

6 *Muktāvali*, Varanasi, 1982, p. 385.

7 VP., p. 72

8 'Tātparyādhīnatvāt śabdaśakteḥ'—*Siddhāntabindu*, Poona, 1962, p. 6.

9 Raja K. Kunjunni, *Indian Theories of Meaning*, Adyar, 1977, pp. 191, 193.

10 For details, see, Gupta Sanjukta, *Studies in the Philosophy of Madhusudana Sarasvati*, Sanskrit Pustak Bhandar, Calcutta. 1966, pp. 163, 164.

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revealed by *śakti*, its relationship is conveyed by *lakṣaṇāvṛtti*, for the *śakti* ceases to operate after presenting the primary meaning. This *lakṣaṇā* like the *Kubjaśakti* of *anvitābhidhānavādins* presents the relationship without being known (*ajñāta*). In both theories the word-meaning and their relationship revealed by some denotative power of words, either *Śakti* or *lakṣaṇā*. Both are acceptable to Advaitins in so far as they are concerned with the sentences whose meaning is *samsarga*.[11]

Akhaṇḍārtha

But according to Advaita all sentences need not convey '*samsarga*' or interrelated meaning. There are sentences which convey an integral or impartite meaning (*akhaṇḍārthabodhaka*) without any relations. In sentences revealing *akhaṇḍārtha* the verbal cognition involves no relations; it simply indicates the substantive. In other words, it does not convey an extra-meaning other than the meaning of the substantive or *prātipadika*.

Citsukha in his *Tattvapradīpikā* gives two definitions of *akhaṇḍārtha*[12]: "*aparyāyaśabdānām samsargāgocara pramitijanakatvam*" and "*aparyāya-śabdānām ekaprātipadikārthamātraparyavasāyitvam*"—when the non-synonymous words of a sentence convey an impartite meaning without any mutual relation as the content of a valid knowledge, that sentence has an *akhaṇḍārtha*. It can also be said to exist when the non synonymous words of a sentence denote the mere meaning of the stem. For example, the words '*prakṛṣṭaprakāśaḥ candraḥ*' denote the moon as the stem *candra* indicates. In sentences like 'This is that Devadatta', it is the substrate Devadatta alone that is revealed. Similarly in *tattvamasi*' (Thou art that) the words *tat* and *tvam* reveal 'pure consciousness' (*caitanyamātra*) without *samsarga* or mutual relationship. In such sentences the constituent words do not distinguish the object from other objects but indicate the *svarūpa*-the essential nature of a thing. This is also testified to by Pāṇini in the sūtra "*prātipadikārthaliṅgaparimāṇavacanamātre prathamā*"[13] according to which the stem '*ghaṭa*' does not refer to any relation of the pot with any object but indicates only its *svarūpa* essential nature All sentences which give the essential nature of things (*svarūp.. lakṣaṇā*) according to Advaita reveal *akhaṇḍārtha*.

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11 "abhihitaghaṭanāthavānvitānām
abhihitirastvatha vā na pakṣapātaḥ
kva cidapi samayesti naḥ kadācit
bahughaṭanātmakavastuniṣṭavākye"
Sarvajñātman,—*Saṅkṣepaśārīrakam*, I-382

12 *Tattvapradīpikā*, Ṣaḍdarśanaprakāśanapratiṣṭhānam, Varanasi, 1974, p. 193, 195.

13 *Siddhāntakaumudī*, 2.3.46

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Madhusūdana Sarasvatī slightly modifies the definition given by Citsukha and classifies *akhaṇḍārtha* mainly into two,[14] viz. subsisting in word-meaning and subsisting in sentence-meaning (*padārthaniṣṭha* and *vākyārthaniṣṭha*). For example, the *akhaṇḍārtha* of the word *tat* in *tattvamasi* is *padārthaniṣṭha*. Its meaning is revealed in sentences (*avāntaravākyas*) like '*satyam jñānam anantam brahma*' etc. The *akhaṇḍārtha* of *tvam* is the meaning revealed in sentences like '*voyam vijñānamayo'ḥ prāṇeṣu hṛdyntarjyotiḥ puruṣaḥ*' etc. The sentences like '*so'yam Devadatta*' '*tattvamasi*' are examples of *vakyārthaniṣṭha*. In both these varieties the *akhaṇḍārtha* does not involve any relations—relation in the form of a substance and attribute and therefore is impartite.

The *akhaṇḍārtha* in *mahāvākyas* like *tattvamasi* according to most of Advaitins is revealed as pointed out earlier by *lakṣaṇā* of *jahadajahatsvārthā* type. But how do Advaitins apply this to the interpretation of the *mahāvākya*? If we take the primary meanings of *tat* and *tvam* in *tattvamasi*, the sentence—meaning becomes incongruous.[15] The primary meaning of the word *tat* in '*tattvamasi*' is Brahman qualified by omniscience and it is determined by several *śruti* passages.[16] So also the primary meaning of the word '*tvam*' is the limited *Jīva* which is also determined by *śruti* passages.[17] As both these cannot be identical, the meaning of the sentence where identity is intended becomes incongruous. This leads to the recollection of the secondary meaning of these words.

But what are the secondary meanings of *tat* and *tvam*? The secondary meaning of *tat* is 'pure Brahman' and is stated in *śruti* passages like '*Satyam jñānamanantam brahma*.' (Tai. Up.II-1) The secondary sense of '*tvam*' is pure consciousness or self as stated in *śrutis* like *voyam vijñānamaya prāṇeṣu*' (Br. Up. IV-3-7) and 'na *dṛṣṭer draṣṭātāram pasyeḥ*' (Br. up. III-4-2) etc. Thus, the secondary meanings of *tat* and *tvam* are pure Brahman and pure self respectively.[18] Though the omniscient Brahman and the limited *Jīva* cannot be identical literally, yet as 'pure consciousness' they can be identical. This identity is revealed by *Jahadajahallakṣaṇā*. Though both words by *lakṣaṇā* mean the same thing the question of repetition (*punarukti*) does not arise as the primary meanings are different.

Dharmarājādhvarīndra in his *Vedāntaparibhāṣā* however, discards this traditional interpretation of *tattvamasi*. Accepting the grammarian's view he

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14 *Advaitasiddhi*, Parimal Publications, Delhi. 1982, p. 662.

15 *Ibid*, pp. 662, 663.

16 For example *Taittarīyopaniṣad*, III.I.1.

17 *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad*, IV.3.18.

18 For details See *Siddhāntabindu*, B.O.R.I, Poona, 1962, pp. 3-5.

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argues that the *akhaṇḍārtha* here is revealed by *abhidhā* iself.[19] According to him though there is incompatibility of the relation of *abheda* or nondifference between the qualified (*viśiṣṭayoḥ*) revealed by *śakti*, there is no contradiction in the cognition of identity between the substrates (*viśeṣya*) which is also revealed by *śakti*. In statements like *ghaṭo' nityaḥ* (the pot is non-eternal) the non-eternality refers to pot alone and not to potness. In *tattvamasi* also there is no sublation in respect of the relation of non-difference between the meaning of the words *tat* and *tvam* as substrates revealed by *śakti*.

Sureśvarācārya speaks of the cognition of *akhaṇḍārtha* in *tattvamasi* as consisting of three relations,[20] viz., *sāmānādhikaraṇya*, *viśeṣaṇaviśeṣyabhāva* and *lakṣyalakṣaṇasambandha*. The function of the words in *tattvamasi* is *sāmānādhikaraṇya* first. Then the syntactical relation is found to be in the form of *viśeṣaṇa* and *viśeṣya* as in the case of '*nīlam utpalam*' (blue lotus). As there is incompatibility in the intended meaning of the sentence in this relation finally it ends in *lakṣyalakṣaṇa sambandha*. The example given by him for *tattvamasi* is *ghaṭākāśo mahākāśaḥ*' the space in the pot is the space in the sky.

Two objections are generally raised against Advaitin's interpretation of *tattvamasi* as revealing *akhaṇḍārtha* without any relations. First is that the conditions of knowing the sentence-meaning are said to be *ākāṅkṣā*, *yogyatā* and *sannidhi*. All these three conditions pre-suppose relationship and therefore the sentences conveying *akhaṇḍārtha* are not sentences at all. Madhusūdana Sarasvatī says that even in such sentences the above conditions exist and yet they present *akhaṇḍārtha*.[21] *Ākāṅkṣā* is that without which words cannot present the *tātparyārtha*. This *tātparyārtha* may be sometimes *saṁsarga* and sometimes *akhaṇḍa*. As the sentence *tattvamasi* presents the intended meaning of identity the words possess *ākāṅkṣā*. By proximity is meant presentation of words in a juxstaposition favourable to the verbal cognition. So proximity also does not invariably involve relationship and can exist in sentences revealing *akhaṇḍārtha*. *Yogyatā* is defined as *tātparyaviṣayābādha*'—non-contradiction of the intended meaning. As the intended meaning in *tattvamasi* is identity, it also possesses *yogyatā*. It should not be said here that the rule that the implied meaning should be related to the primary meaning (*śakyasambandha*) is violated here. For, Advaitins accept false relationship between the *śakyārtha* and *lakṣyārtha* and so there is no harm in admitting *lakṣaṇā* in *mahāvākyas*.

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19 VP., pp. 74, 75.

20 *Naiṣkarmyasiddhi*, III-3.

21 *Op. cit.*, p. 689.

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REFUTATION OF BUDDHISM

(as reflected in the *Ṣaḍdarśananirṇaya* of Merutuṅgasūri)

By

JAYDEV A. JANI*

Merutuṅga Sūri (1347-1415 A.D.) is known to the scholars of Jainism for his rich literary contribution, but the scholars on Indology are also interested in his works which project social, literary and spiritual development of the time in Gujarat, Rajasthan and Madhyapradesh.

His *Ṣaḍdarśananirṇaya*[1] is a small treatise giving the cruz of the six systems of Philosophy viz. Buddhism, Mimāṁsā, Sāṁkhya, Naiyāyika, Vaiśeṣika and Jainism. Among these, Mimāṁsā stands for both *Karmakāṇḍa* as well as *Jñānakāṇḍa* (i.e. Vedānta) and Sāṁkhya forms both *Niriśvarasāṁkhya* as well as *Seśvarasāṁkhya* (i.e. Yoga). He terms them *ṣaddarśanas* i.e. *āstikadarśanas*,[2] because they deal with the existence of the soul, meritorious deeds, sins and salvation.

He lays down some tenets of the five systems and refutes them. The main tenets of Buddhism are laid down as follows:—

Buddhism believes in Buddha as the god. It accepts four noble (*ārya*) truths such as misery (*duḥkha*) etc.[3] The misery is twelve-fold[4] and *vijñāna* etc. are five *skandhas*.[5] The rise (*samudaya*) is nothing but the springing up of the egoistic feeling caused by the passion etc. The chain of thoughts should be 'everything is momentary,' and the salvatation is the interruption of the chain of the worldly consciousness[6] i.e. the control of senses or thoughts. It accepts two means of proof for knowledge viz. the Perception and Inference.

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1 मेरुतुङ्गसूरिणा सदृब्ध : श्री षड्दर्शन निर्णयः, प्रकाशकः—श्री आर्य-जय-कल्याण केन्द्र (मोहमयी), ग्रन्थ-क्रमाङ्क : २८ सं. २०३८. मूल्यम् रु. ३—००.

2 बौद्ध-मीमांसक-साङ्ख्य-नैयायिक वैशेषिक-जैनभेदेन षड्दर्शनानि...यद्यप्येतानि आत्म-पुण्य-पापापवर्गादिसत्तावादितया सद्दर्शनानीति व्यवहारः..... । पृष्ठम्-३.

3 चत्वारि दुःखादीनि आर्यसत्यानि । पृष्ठम्-३.

4 द्वादशायतनानि च दुःखम् । पृष्ठम्-३

5 विज्ञानादयः पञ्च स्कन्धाः । पृष्ठम्-३.

6 ज्ञानसन्तानोच्छेदो मोक्षः । निरोधो मोक्ष इत्यर्थः । पृष्ठम्-३, ४.

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After putting forth the above tenets, Merutuṅgasūri starts the refutation of each of the tenets.

What is the meaning of the word 'Buddha?' Is he a transmigratory soul or a non-transmigratory soul? If he is the transmigratory soul, he can't be god as he has the fault of passion etc. like us.[7] If he is non-transmigratory, is he a momentary or a non-momentary (i.e. permanent)? The non-transmigratory soul cannot be momentary, because momentariness lacks the act of interruption of the knowledge and hence there won't arise the salvation. If the non-transmigratory soul is non-momentary, he can't be permanent as there would be contradiction in the original proposition (*pratijñā*) 'everything is momentary.' And if it is believed that the non-momentary (permanent) soul is non-existent, the hare-horn would fall under the category of means of proof.[8] So Buddha cannot be the god.

There would be a hindrance in the practices for the salvation, when it is accepted that everything is momentary. There won't result the experience of the salvation, because every (former) moment of knowledge being unlinked (with the latter) would be momentary.[9] When the experience of salvation is taken to be the cessation of the worldly experience, it is clear that the same experience will automatically result after the death and hence no practices are required for the same.

And one cannot accept the view that the continual knowledge transmigrates to another body after death and the salvation will not be experienced at the time of death, because the after-death theory is impossible as per the momentariness of everything.[10] This view is elucidated by Merutuṅgasūri with an example of the flame of the lamp which does not extend itself in another vessel leaving the original one.[11] So the transmigration of the knowledge from one body to the another holds no water. The former moment and its action get the result on the same spot and moment. If the action and knowledge of one moment cause the result for the another, (there being no link) the chaotic situation would arise in the world.

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7 यदि संसारी तर्हि अस्मदादिवद् रागादिकलुषिततया न देवः। पृष्ठम्–४.

8 असंश्चेन्न प्रमाणम्, खरविषाणस्याप्यसतः प्रमाणत्वप्रसंगात्। पृष्ठम्–४.

9 सर्वेषामपि ज्ञानक्षणानां निरन्वयनाशेन मोक्षफलोपभोगाभावात्। पृष्ठम्–४.

10 अथ स एव ज्ञानसन्तानोऽन्यत्र देहान्तरं संक्रामतीति नावमानकाले मोक्षप्रसङ्ग इति चेन्न, देहान्तरसङ्क्रमणस्यैवाऽघटनात्। पृष्ठम्–४.

11 तथाहि—दीपशिखासन्तानोऽपि स्वाधारपात्रं मुक्त्वा न पात्रान्तरे सङ्क्रामति। पृष्ठम्–५.

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Thereafter he refutes the *pratītyasamutpāda* theory. When the cessation of the impressions takes place, there arises the pure knowledge bereft of the knowledge of oneness with the sense-objects.

This is also untenable that the momentary souls with impure thoughts possess the natural power of putting the actions into motion and the sudden cessation of the motivated action is not possible for the momentary souls with pure thoughts who have no such power.

To brush up the above view, he proves that everything is not momentary. The soul is eternal, beginningless and endless as well as it is the substratum of the qualities like knowledge etc.[12] To corroborate this, he quotes the Gītā–II.22, and sums up that when the *karmas* are destroyed, the soul gets the continual knowledge and becomes free by nature.

The above theory and refutation of the main tenets of Buddhism lead to the following conclusions:—

(1) The refutation of Buddha as god is purely dependant on his being a mortal preacher. Jainas believe in Tīrthaṅkaras as the mortal preachers, and they don't deny the existence of the soul.

(2) The theories of Buddhism viz. the *Kṣaṇikavāda* and the *Vijñānavāda* are refuted collectively and not separately. This shows the impact of Śaṅkarācārya's style of refuting the Buddhism in the Brahmasūtras (II.ii.18-32).

(3) The untenability of momentariness is reflected not only in the godhead of Buddha but also in the nature and form of the salvation and the means thereof.

(4) The chaotic situation as suppossed and put forth by Merutuṅga-Sūri is a good example of blending contradictory views of any philosophy. Though the average reader will find it as *piṣṭapeṣaṇa* (grinding the flour) and also improper, it should be kept in mind that every effort to refute the opponent is not unfair.

(5) The style of refutation is full of cross-questioning which reminds us of the *Navya-nyāya* style of refutation. And hence this throws light on Merutuṅga-Sūri's acquaintance with *Navya-nyāya* technique of refutation.

(6) The language is lucid and effective in as much as the reader gets convinced, totally forgetting the former argument.

(7) The quotations of the *Gītā* (II.22) and an untraced *Śaivāgama* proceed to prove that the nature of soul is similar in Vedānta (esp. the Gītā) and Jainism in some respect.

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12 तस्मात् सर्वं न क्षणिकम् । किन्तु अनाद्यनन्तो ज्ञानादिगुणाधारो नित्यो जीवः । उक्तं च वासांसि जीर्णानि.....नवानि देही ॥ (भगवद् गीता–२.२२)

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To come to the conclusion of his work, *Ṣaḍdarśananirṇaya*, wherein he has quoted the verses of the *Mahābhārata*, the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* and the *Yājnavalkya-smṛti*, his effort is to elucidate the concepts like non-violence, true Brāhmaṇa-hood, *guru* etc. This bespeaks his versatile genius and respect for the scriptures of other sects. It may also suggest that Merutuṅga-Sūri is inclined to show that the tenets of Jainism are supported by the *Śruti* and the *Smṛuti*. It also proves that the doctrines are generally not complete in themselves. There are all possibilities of lacunae, but at the same time the Truth is one without second and the path of realization needs to be trodden with pure knowledge, pure action and pure character.

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GEOGRAPHICAL FEATURES IN ARBUDA KHAṆḌA

By

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Arbuda khaṇḍa is the third part of Prabhāsa khaṇḍa, which is the seventh khaṇḍa of the voluminous *Skanda Purāṇa*. It comprises of sixty three chapters, dealing with the origin, area, holy spots in and around Arbuda and the reasons for their sanctity. It is in the form of a narration by Sūta to the sages, as it was told by Pulastya to Yayāti. This is a *sthala māhātmya*, which enables the devotees to understand the importance of the *tīrthas* during their pilgrimage. To the modern scientific mind, some of them may not be acceptable. For example, to consider Himālayas as earlier than Aravalli ranges is erroneous. Since the aim of the *Purāṇakāras*, who narrate the *sthala māhātmyas* was to stress the sanctity of the place, connecting it with devine or semi-devine beings and their antiquity, these exaggerations appear to creep in. The aim of this study is to identify some of the places mentioned in this khaṇḍa with the modern locations.

Arbuda or Arbudācala is the present Mount Abu, situated in 24°, 36′ N and 72°, 43′ E, twenty seven kilometres north west of Abu Road station on the Ahmedabad-Delhi main line of the Western Railway. It is in the Sirohi district of Rājasthān. Although geologically it is a part of the Arāvalli range, it is detached from it by a narrow valley of about ten kilometres across, through which flows the river Banās.

The antiquity of Arbuda can be traced in some of the oldset hymns of *Rg. Veda* (X.68. 12; I.51.6), *Mahābhārat* and the older purāṇas *like Vāyu-purāṇa*, *Matsyapurāṇa* and *Viṣṇupurāṇa*. These Purāṇas consider Arbuda as part of Aparānta or western coast of India and generally grouped along with Ānarta. Ānarta is the modern North Gujarat.

The area of Arbuda is given as 3000 by 2000 (?) (Ch. I) without indicating the scale. In a different context it is said to be of ten *yojanas* in extent, two *yojanas* in length and five *yojanas* in height (Ch. XXXVI). The present Mt. Abu is about nineteen kilometres in length and five kilometres in breadth. The highest peak Guruśikhara is 1722 metres above sea level. Perhaps there is some confusion between the height and the length in the Purāṇic version.

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The legendary origin of Arbuda is described in the first four chapters as follows :

> Uttaṅka, a pupil of Ṛṣi Gautama, in order to fulfil the desire of the wife of his Guru, went to Saudāsa and obtained the ear rings of his wife Mādayanti. On his way back, he kept the ear rings wrapped up in a deer skin on the ground and climbed a bael tree (Aegle mormulas) to gather some fruits, to quench his hunger. The snake king Takṣaka carried off the ear ornaments and concealed himself in a subterranean spot. Uttaṅka dug a huge pit to reach Pātāla and got back the ear rings. The chasm was said to be of 2000 × 3000 (?) in length and width. It was later inhabited by cruel tribes. Once the celestial cow Nandinī, fell into that pit and the sage Vasiṣṭha requested the sacred river Saraswati to fill up the pit, to rescue Nandinī. To prevent such accidents permanently, sage Vasiṣṭha appealed to Himavān to fill up the pit. Nandivardana, a son of Maināka, who in turn was the son of Himavān, consented to fill the pit. The snake Arbuda was said to have carried Nandivardana and filled up the pit. Vasiṣṭha being pleased with its great service, gave a boon that henceforth the place will be named after Arbuda and the *tīrtha* on its peak will be named Nāgatīrtha. On Nandivardana's request, the desert around was made fertile.

The tradition of connecting Vasiṣṭha's hermitage at Abu, can be traced from *Mahābhārata.* In the *Tīrthayātrākhaṇḍa* of *Araṇyaka - parvan* (Ch. XXX) the narration of Pulastya refers to Arbuda, which was a crater and was later on filled by the son of Himavān and it had the hermitage of Vasiṣṭha. This motif of crater, the falling of the cow, crater being filled up by a mountain are common features in Indian mythology.

Arbudācala was described by the narrator as having rich vegetation with trees like phanasa, karavīra, tāla, tamāla, sāla, etc., along with flower bearing trees like bakula, campaka, etc , and birds like cātaka, cakora, etc. This indicates the existence of a dense growth of vegetation in that region in those periods.

There appears to be some element of truth in the traditions presented in this Purāṇa. The rocks in the entire Aravalli system are supposed to be of extreme antiquity. As has already been noted, Mt. Abu although geologically considered as part of the Arávalli range, it looks separate, composed of granites, schists and limestones, rising from the desert abruptly as an isolated hill. The chasm and its filling, hint at some geological phenomenon, like some volcanic activity, in this region. The craters might have arisen due to volcanic activity, which later on might have been filled up by an another earthquake. The name Arbuda itself means swelling, tremor, polypus or foetus. Even today Mt. Abu is considered to be of having occasional tremors. In later history, the tradition of Vasiṣṭha's harmitage played an important part and it was claimed that the several

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clans of Rajputs originated from the fire pit in his *āśrama*. This element may be a derivation from Arbuda sūkta of *Atharva Veda* (XI : IX), which is an incantation for the defeat and destruction of hostile army, addressed to Arbudi. Yet its beauty and the natural surroundings have been fully utilised, from the eleventh century onwards by the Jaíns, in building their temples at Delwārā of which there is no mention in Arbudakhaṇḍa.

The most important Hindu temple in Abu is the temple of Acaleśvara, which is about 12 kms northeast of Abu bus stand (Ch. IV) at the foot of the hill. The Acaleśvara Mahādeva, is the superintending deity of the Mt. Abu. The inscriptions of the wall and near the shrine, are dated between 13th to 18th Century A.D. Since an inscription dated V.S. 1290 (1234 A.D.) refers to the erection of *sabhāmaṇḍapa* by Vastupāla and Tejapāla, the temple can be dated earlier. In the sanctum, which is at a lower level, is a small toe shaped object in the rock, which is considered as the toe of Śiva. Acaleśvara was the tutelary deity of the Paramārās and the Chauhāns. To the north of Acaleśvara temple is Mandākini kuṇḍa (Ch. VIII), which is almost dry at present. A *praśasti* of Chitor Kīrti-Stambha informs that Mahārāna Kumbha built here the temple of Kumbhaswāmi and a kuṇḍa nearby. This may be the kuṇḍa built or repaired by Mahārāṇa Kumbha. Half a kilometre from Acaleśvara behind Mandākini kuṇḍa is Revatikuṇḍa with sweet cool waters. Half a kilometre eastward of Revatikuṇḍa is Bhṛgu *āśrama*. There is a small Śiva temple here. In front of this temple under the shade of a campaka tree, is a small platform, on which are installed a four faced Brahma and a pair of foot prints. This may be the Brahma *tīrtha*, and Brahma *pāda* as narrated in the Purāṇa (Ch. LIII).

On the outskirts of the village Oriya is a small old shrine of Koteśvara or Kanakhaleśvara. In the shrine is a Śivalinga, a Pārvati image and in niches of the adjacent hall are figures of Gaṇeśa, etc. The shrine seems to have been repaired by Kedārarāśi, a pupil of Durvāsarāśi in V.S. 1265. A few meters away from Kanakhaleśvara is a cave known as Bhima gupha, by the local inhabitants. A few meters away from that is a small reservoir. As its water is sweet, it is known as Śakkar kuṇḍa. This may be the Kanakhala *tirtha* (Ch. XXVI) because of its proximity to Kanakhaleśvara.

About four kilometres northwest of Oriya village on the way to Acalgadh from Delwāra is the highest peak of Mt. Abu. known as Guruśikhara (1722 metres). This is likely to be the Gouri śikhara or Iśāni śikhara mentioned in the Arbuda khaṇḍa (Ch. LII). However, nowadays the pilagrims flock to this area for the worship of Dattātreya. Half a kilometre from Oriya village, is a small hamlet known as Jorvai. From here the ascent is about two killometres. On this route there is a Śiva temple. The temples of Atri, Anusūyā and Dattātreya, which are seen at present were not mentioned in the Purāṇa. Further up the

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Gurusikhara is Tripuṣkara said to be created by Brahma (Ch. LIV). On the route to Anadara village from camp area, is Caṇḍikāśrama. On the way to Caṇḍikāśrama near Jorvai village is Nāgahrada with many serpants. *Purāṇakāra* gives an account of the curse by Gatru, and the snakes coming to Arbuda and praying to Caṇḍikā (Ch. XXXVII). Bath in Nāgahrada in Śrāvana Kṛṣṇa *pañcamī* day is advised to avoid snake bites. Even at present a mela is held on Nāga pañcamī. Between Gurusikhara and Utaraja village is Kedāra *tīrtha* and Kedāreśvara *liṅga*. (Ch. IX). Near Caṇḍikāśrama is Devakhāta (Ch. XLV), where Devas where supposed to have dug the earth. In the village of Oriya is Cakreśvara Mahādeva. Viṣṇu is supposed to have cleansed his cakra here after killing the asuras (Ch. XXVII).

A kilometre to the southwest of Delwārā is the shrine of Ādhāra devi or Arbudā devi. After climbing about four hundred and fifty steps, one has to bend very low-almost to prostrate, since the entrance to this cave temple is very small. Arbudā devi is considered as the superintending goddess of the whole area. According to the Purāṇa, Kātyāyani after killing Śumbha, had established herself here (Ch. XXI). A kilometre higher up from Arbudā devi is Pāpakaṭeśvara Mahādeva. There is a well near the foot of the flight of steps leading to this hillock. Since the water is whitish and sweet like milk, it is named as Dūdhavāvḍi. Perhaps this may be the Śukla tīrtha, described in Purāṇa, where a washerman was said to have found his bluish clothes turning white (Ch. XXIII). On the way to Anadra village from Abu gate is a nala called Ampāni and closer to it is Kṛṣṇa *tīrtha*.

A little upwards from Raghunāthji temple is Hastigupha. The broad upper part of the cave resembles an elephant. The place where the eight elephants (*aṣṭa diggajas*) were said to have prayed to get the strength to hold the earth was known as *Gajatīrtha* according to the Purāṇa (Ch. XLIV). At some distance from Hastigupha is Gorakṣi Mātha, where in the month of Phalguna a fair is held annually by peasants. Perhaps, this may refer to the episode described in the Purāṇa, where a cow, when attacked by the tiger, took its permission to go to its calf for taking leave of it. The cow was said to have returned as promised and because of this righteous act, the tiger got back the kingly form. The king Subrata was said to have become a tiger, because he killed a male calf. The king after getting back his human form was said to have created a tank for the cows to drink water, by piercing the earth with his arrows (Ch. XXIX). This episode must have gone through variations during the course of time and Gorakṣani Mātha concept has now come to stay.

Between Śānti *āśrama* and Mt. Abu approximately four kms. from station (that is on the route from Abu Road station to the mountain) is a shrine of Hriṣīkeśa. The villagers call it, as Rakhikiṣan or Ṛṣikiṣan and believe that Lord

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Kṛṣṇa on his way to Dwārikā from Mathurā camped and rested here. King Ambarīṣa is considered to have commemorated it by erecting a temple. There is a reference to Ambarīṣa, asking for the presence of Viṣṇu near him, in the Purāṇa (Ch. XIII). About half a kilometre from here is a Bhadrakāli temple. The village nearby Umbarāni, is considered by the local inhabitants as the Amarāvati of Ambarīṣa.

About eight kilometres from Delwārā and six kilometres south of the bus stop is situated Gaumukh. It can be reached via Hanumān temple and from there by a steep descent of 1.6 kilometres. The valley has abundant growth of mogrā, ketaki, etc. At the end of a series of flight of steps is Gaumukha kuṇḍa, which is an artificial reservoir, where the mouth of the stream is enclosed in an artificial Gaumukh motif. Still downward is Vasiṣṭhāśrama, with an old temple dedicated to Vasiṣṭha. There are images of Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Arundhatī and Kapilamunī and also Nandinī. Near this aśrama is agnikuṇḍa. South west of Vasiṣṭhāśrama is Nāgatīrtha. Perhaps this may be connected with the episode of Arbudanāga.

Arbudakhaṇḍa does not mention about the origin of the Rājputs from the Agnikuṇḍa, but Arbudācala is said to owe its origin to Vasiṣṭha (Ch. II, III). Further downward from Vasiṣṭhāśrama on the slopes is Jamadagni *āśrama.* This is supposed to be the place where Bhārgava Rāma after getting *Pāśupatāstra* from Śiva and exterminating the kṣatriyas twenty one times to avenge the death of his father finally did *pitrutarpaṇa* (Ch. XLIX). Vyāseśvara temple in near Vasiṣṭhāśrama (Ch. XLVI). Four kilometres to the west of Vasiṣṭhāśrama and descending a few steps one can reach Gautamāśrama (Ch. XLVII). There are images of Viṣṇu, Gautama and Ahalyā.

Near the shrine of Kanyākumāri is Pangu *tīrtha*, where the lame *Brahmin* Pangumuni is said to have done penance and reached Kailāsa (Ch. XVII). According to the Purāṇa a *brahmin* named Manki lived here by grazing buffaloes. After having a bath near a *tīrtha* at this place he became very pious and did penance. The *tīrtha* here was named as Piṇḍāraka, (Piṇḍāra means cowherd). Between Delwārā and Pāpabhanjana Mahādeva in a cave in a small hillock is Agnīśvara *linga.* Agni *tīrtha* must have been in this area. Behind the present Railway school is Maṇikarṇika *kuṇḍa*, where after having bath, an ugly dark huntress named Maṇikarṇika was said to have turned beautiful (Ch. XVI).

About six kilometres south west of Abu is a pond named Candra Prabhāsa, where water is said to rise for fifteen days and to decrease for fifteen days. This pond is supposed to be the place, where Candra was partially relieved from Dakṣa's curse, on account of his partiality towards Rohiṇi (Ch. XX). About

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five kilometres, north of Abu is Rūpatīrtha, where an ugly looking Abhiri seems to have become beautiful after having a bath there (Ch. XII). A kilometre further from Rūpatīrtha is Siddheśvara temple (Ch. XIV). These are on the slopes of Mt. Abu.

The above mentioned places have been identified with present locations, as they correspond with the local legends. The mythological origin of Arbudācala can be explained by its volcanic activity. This area has many natural caves and *kuṇḍas*. Of course, many of the *kuṇḍas* are now dry. The narrator of the Purāṇa has associated these places with some mythological importance to provide sanctity to these places. The region still remains undeveloped except for the tourist attraction and hence the old locations seem to have remained unchanged. In this connection it may be remembered that parts of *Skanda Purāṇa* may be of recent origin. A detailed study of Arbudakhaṇḍa, makes one to doubt, whether this formed a part of Prabhāsakhaṇḍa originally, since the other khaṇḍas Prabhāsa, Vastrāpatha and Dwārakā come within the area of Saurāṣtra, while Arbudācala is outside this region. Probably, it is a later addition.

The various anecdotes in the Purāṇa are relating to cows, buffaloes and tigers, which probably were abundant on this hill along with thick vegetation in the past. The complete omission of the Jaina temples in this area may be perhaps due to the narrator being a staunch Śaivite, since he upholds Śiva's superiority among the trinity. It may also be due to this khaṇḍa being written, prior to the eleventh century A.D., since Jaina influence can be traced on Mt. Abu only from the eleventh century onwards.

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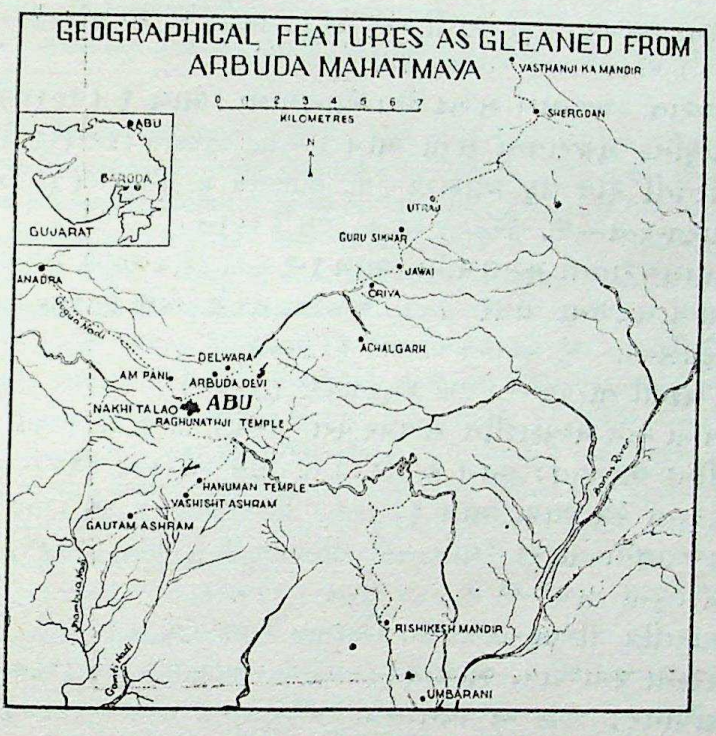

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CONTRIBUTIONS OF MEHMUD BEGADA AS DEPICTED IN THE "MIRAT-i-SIKANDARI"

By

HARIPRIYA RANGARAJAN*

In this paper an attempt has been made to focus on the character and contributions of Mehmud Begada in Gujarat while he was the Sultan of the State. This short description of the Sultan is based on the work called the "*Mirat-i Sikandari*."

The "*Mirat-i-Sikandari*" or the Mirror of Sikandar is the most important among the numerous historical chronicles in Persian composed about Gujarat. The work is so called from the name of the author Sikandar bin Muhamad and was composed in the year 1611 A.D. (1020 A.H.). From the author's description it appears that he was born in the year 1553 A.D. (961 A.H.) at Mahmudabad. He could finish this work while he was in fifties. He was born in the year in which Sultan Mahmud III was murdered at Mahmudabad.[1] The author was known as Shaik Sikandar and was a famous historian who was probably living in Ahmedabad during the periods of Akbar and Jahangir.[2] Sikandar's father was Mahmud alias Manjhu (the author usually mentions under the latter name), who was the librarian and Chief Officer of Emperor Humayun.[3] It is not clear of what part of the country Manjhu was a native, but the author's description of Gujarat dynasty makes us understand that the writer's family originally belonged to Gujarat.[4]

According to Bayley, from the Writer's Chronicle, it is found that Shaik Sikandar was a "dervish" or at least a disciple of "dervishes" a term comprising the different schools of Mahomedan mystics who with their miraculous actions influenced and exercised on the fortunes of the Gujarat dynasty. Shaik Sikandar as a Mahomedan historian was not only an impartial but also a very skilful writer. He, according to Bayley, had tried to show the capacity and

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1 Bayley, *Local Muhammadan Dynasties Gujarat*, p. 59.

2 Commissariat, M. S. *A History of Gujarat*, Vol. II, p. 23, 33.

3 *Mirat-i-Sikandari* in Persian, (tr. in Eng.) by Fazlullah Latfullah Faridi, p. 498.

4 Commissariat, M. S. *op. cit.*, p. 23, 33 and 64.

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disposition of each Sultan in the prosperity of the kingdom and also had illustrated the character of each Sultan by anecdotes and well chosen remarks.[5] Shaik Sikandar describes the first Sultan Muzaffar Shah I as a good soldier, nobleman of his day, loyal and brave without any far reaching ambition. His son Tatarkhan was very ambitious and restless. His grandson Ahmad Shah was shown not only as the virtual founder of Ahmedabad as capital but also of the Kingdom of Gujarat. He brought out such an effective civil and military system in the State which enabled his descendants to raise the prosperity of the kingdom to a very high level till it culminated during the glorious reign of Mahmud Begada.[6]

Sultan Din-Panah Mahmud Begada, according to the "*Mirat-i-Sikandari*," was born on the twentieth of the month of Ramzan A.H. 849 (A.C. 1445) and was named Fateh Khan. He was the son of Sultan Muhammad Shah and grandson of Sultan Ahmed Shah.[7] He ascended the throne on a Sunday the first Shaban A.H. 863 (18th June, A.D. 1459) in the great city of Ahmedabad. At that time he was only fourteen years old. From that time to the end of his life his orders carried such authority that no one dared to disobey. It is said in *Sikandari*. "He added glory and lustre to the kingdom of Gujarat and was best of all the Gujarat kings including all who preceded and all who succeeded him; and whether for abounding justice and generosity of success in religious war, and for the diffusion of the laws of Islam and of Musalmans, for soundness of judgement alike in boyhood, in manhood and in all age; for power, for valour and victory, he was a pattern of excellence.[8]"

Regarding the origin of the surname Begada or Begadha, the "*Mirat-i-Sikandari*" gives two explanations. The word Begada in the Gujarati language is the name for a bullock whose horns stretchout right and left in the manner of a person extending his arms to embrace another. The mustachios of the Sultan were also straight and long like those horns, hence, he obtained the Cognomen Begada. The second view is that the word "Begadha" is derived from "be" and "gadh". In Gujarati "be" means two and "gadh" means fort. As the Sultan captured the two rock forts of Junagadh and Champaner, he was called Begadha.[9]

Mehmud Begada : A warrior, caretaker of the-army and the father of his people.

Begada was the best of the Gujarat Sultans as a warrior, ruler and a dispenser of justice. It is a fact that his sound sense of judgement in his youth,

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5 Bayley, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-2.
6 Bayley, *op. cit.*, p. 62.
7 *Mirat-i-Sikandari* (tr. in Eng.) by Fazlullah Lutfullah Faridi, p. 41.
8 Bayley. *op. cit.*, p. 161.
9 "*Mirat-i-Sikandari*", (tr. in Eng.) by Fazlullah Lalfullah Faridi, p. 42.

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manhood and in his old age was great. The "*Mirat-i-Sikandari*" compares the great ruler with Mahmud Ghazanavi. It says: "the soul of the great belligerent Sultan Mahmud of Ghazanavi had sought a second habitation in the body of Sultan Mehmud Begada would not be an exaggeration, as all the deeds and actions of the latter bore a striking resemblance with those of the former.[10]"

Begada was a great and tactful warrior. He had a great sense of responsibility for the equipments of the army and the welfare of their families. The "*Mirat-i-Sikandari*" says that there was no king of Gujarat who had such a large and well equipped army nor had any of the kings of his time ever sent such forces in any direction. For example, even at the time of one of his expeditions, he devoted whole revenue of Gujarat to the pay of his army and had given up his own crown villages for four years as a contribution to the enlarged expenses of the army by reducing his personal expenses from the treasure left by former kings. From this treasure he spent two-thirds in rewards and food supplies for the army during the expedition for four years. The expedition took place in A.D. 1462, against Mahmud Khalji II of Mandu who tried to plunder the Nizam Shah of Kakhan.[11] He established a rule that no soldier should borrow money upon usary and he appointed treasurers in different places who were to advance money to soldiers in need of loans and take from them a promise to pay [12]

As father of his people he made the rule that the *Jagir* of every Amir or soldier who was slain in battle or who died a natural death was continued to his son. If the officer had no son, half the *jagir* was continued to his daughter and if he had no daughter he settled certain allowances on the dependents of the deceased that they should have no cause of complaint against the Government.[13] He was very much concerned about the comforts of his subjects. He constructed lofty *sarais* and inns for travellers and the merchants were much benefited by the safety of the roads throughout his entire dominions. The reason of the thriving condition of the cultivators was that the Sultan besides being very just and impartial to his people, tolerated neither oppression nor recommendation. The artisans were happy and contended because the Sultan was perfectly just and generous and righteous and no man had the power of injuring or threatening to injure another. Great and poor both agreed for this statement that among the Sultans of Gujarat either before or after him, there was no one like Mehmud Begada.[14] It is said that he was so kind to the people that if he saw any shop or

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10 "*Mirat-i-Sikandari*", (tr. in Eng.) by Fazlullah Lalfullah Farida, p. 46.
11 *Ibid.*, p. 51
12 *Ibid.*, p. 47
13 *Ibid.*, p. 45
14 *Ibid.*, p. 45

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house in ruins he used to call the owners and ask the reason for such condition and would give royal assistance or even he would order to reconstruct them. The "*Mirat-i-Sikandari*" says that the whole country of Gujarat in the hands of Sultan was very safe. During his time corn was very cheap (in Gujarat) and it had or has neven been so cheap in Gujarat as it was during the reign of Sultan Begada.[15]

Mehmud Begada : great lover of trees and gardens

The "*Mirat-i-Sikandari*" says that the Sultan was a great lover of trees and gardens. He was very considerate for road side trees. He used to encourage their plantation by giving prizes to the planters and that whenever he used to see any shade tree such as Banyan, Neem and Pipal, he used to call the owner and talk to him for a while with great concentration and kindness and would ask him when he had watered the tree. If the owner said that water was distant and he was put to trouble in carying it a long way the Sultan used to get a well or a step-well built there out of the state treasury. The 'Garden of Firdos' or the 'Bagh-i-Firdaus' or the 'Garden of Paradise' which was laid out by the Sultan in the vicinity of Ahmedabad was ten miles long and one mile broad. According to Commissariat "it was situated about six miles to the east of the capital and was surrounded by a wall and bastions. Its site has been located beyond the village lands of Rajpur near the hamlet of Wastral. By the middle of the eighteenth century, however, the garden was in ruins and nothing of it was left except a portion of the enclosure and gate. The "*Mirat-i-Sikandari*" says that here a vast number of mangos, khirini, pomegranates, jambus, figs, gulars, coconuts, bels, mohwras, and banyans which are found in Gujarat arose from the care and attention and fostering efforts of this Sultan,[16] and the garden of Shaban was also laid out in his reign.[17] M. S. Commissariat writes that the lands of such a famous Garden of Paradise now serve as the dumping ground for the refuse from the local municipality of Ahmedabad.[18]

There is a vivid description in the "*Mirat-i-Sikandari*" about his love for gardens. Sultan conquered the fort of Champaner in A.D. 1484. The climate of the ancient Hindu city was so pleasant that he made it his capital and renamed Muhammadabad. A lofty Jami Masjit was constructed. He erected an outer wall around Champaner-Muhammadabad and constructed the enclosure which is called Bhadra or citadel. He called it Jahampanah or 'world shelter'. There the amirs, vazirs, merchants and vanias each one built for himself lofty

15 *Ibid.*, p. 47
16 *Ibid.*, p. 47
17 Bayley, *Op. cit*, p. 170
18 Commissariat. M. S. *A History of Gujarat*, Vol. I, pp. 225-6

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dwellings. In 1485 A.D. he built beautiful gardens like paradise round the city. The gardens were filled with flowers of different colours and fruits of every kind. The sweet smelling flowers had their smells like the perfumer's box and they enlightned the eyes of beholders. The "*Mirat-i-Sikandari*" says that there were plenty of sandal wood trees in the neighbourhood of Champaner and the people used it in house building. The author who was alive in the period of Jahangir has compared the old Champaner with the time of his and says that the then Champaner had become the abode of tiger and lion. Its buildings were ruined, its habitants have given their property to the winds of destruction, even the water had poisoned and the air deprived the human living in the famous Begada's Champaner.[19]

It says that in Champaner a man from Khurasar with the permission of Sultan laid out a nice garden and built a small pretty fountain in it and he contrived fountains and waterfalls, an art previously unknown in Gujarat. At that time a Gujarati carpenter named Halu requested the Sultan to permit him to lay out a garden as good as that of it laid by another man. He laid out even better than the first one. Sultan was very much pleased and asked him that the people of Gujarat were not acquinted with that art then, when had he learnt it. Halu told the Sultan that he disguised himself as an ignorant labourer and worked for the man from Khurasan, partly by watching him and partly by his own skill. That garden is well known and famous and the people of Gujarat call the place Halol which was named after Halu. Halol is 10 kms. from the hill of Pavagadh. It is at present for administrative purposes a sub-division of the Pancamahal. The ruins of old Champaner are described by Major Miles as extending as far as Halol.[20]

Begada and art

Mahmud Begada was a man of versatile interests and he introduced and encouraged most of the elegant handicrafts and ingenious arts that are now practised in Gujarat. He allowed people to copy from men of skill and genius from other countries and Gujarat like an accomplished person became the collection of arts gathered from different sources. During his period only the people of Gujarat learned arts and wit, as before his time they were very simple.[21]

Sultan and Elite nobles :

The period in which Sultan Begada lived was an epoch that singularly produced the highly learned men. Although Sultan was illiterate his mind from his constant association with highly learned men was stored with a rich stock of

19 *Ibid.*, p. 67; M. S. Commissariat, *op. cit.*, pp. 198-9

20 *Ibid.*, p. 49

21 *Ibid.*, p. 69; also see Bayley, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

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useful knowledge concerning about religious matters, the texts of law, the tradition of the elders and anecdotes of the saints and history. In fact, except scholars nobody, in speaking with him, could say he was unlettered. His notes and querries on learned matters were highly ingenious. His good and noble friends also contributed in the fields of his different interests. They built some of the suburbs in Ahmedabad which are still there. The first one was Daryakhan who built the great dome to the north side of the fort of Ahmedabad and thus the name of Daryapur came into being. The dome was so lofty that there was no other such big dome in dimension found in Gujarat. The second friend was Alafkhan Bhukai who was of exalted dignity and a generous soul. He built a lofty mosque in brick nearby Dholka to the west of the fort which had been appreciated by travellers from all parts of the world. The third was Malik Muhammad Ikhtiar. When the Sultan came to the throne, he was very helpful in administration. Another celebrated Amir was Khudavand Khan Ahim. He was called Malik 'Ilim' the 'learned Lord' as he could. He populated Alimpur to the south of the city of Ahmedabad and built a large mosque. He was the one who introduced the seeds of Kharbuza sapling of the fig and the solid bamboo from Bijanagar and Dakhan. Another noble friend was the poet Hajikalu who was a slave of the Sultan. He populated Kalupur to the east of the city.[22] There was another noble by name Imadul-Mulk Asao who populated Asaspur which lies between Rasulabad and Batwa. Asaspur is now known as Isas-pur. The "*Mirat-i-Sikandari*" says that no suburb of Ahmedabad was so beautiful than that of it. Another noble of the court was Kiwam-ul-Mulk Sarang. He was originally a Rajput and his original name was Sarang. The suburb of Sarangpur and a mosque outside the city to the east of Ahmedabad was founded by him.[23]

Sultan Begada : a devout Muslim :

Begada according to the "*Mirat-i-Sikandari*" was the defender of Islam. It says that in the latter part of his life, the Sultan used to devote the greater part of his time to devotion and penitence. He used to cry in his prayers. He used to tell his friend Malik Sarang that his patron Shah Alam said to him that "in the end Mehmud shall be praised. The meaning of Mehmud is good". Hence Sultan Begada used to tell his friend Sarang that however much he would try to be good he would not because the stream of life was fluring very fast, and he could not find that 'goodness" in himself.[24] May be with this good intention in his last days, he allowed the procession of Sri Mahaprabhu Vallabhacarya

22 *Ibid.*, p. 78.
23 *Ibid.*, pp. 88-9
24 *Ibid.*, p. 48.

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to pass under his gallery. For this it is said that he was struck with the extra-ordinary power of Sri Vallabhacarya.[25]

In A D. 1510 (A.H. 916) Mehmud Begada went to Patan. That was the last expedition of the Sultan. He assembled the great and learned men of Patan and told them that his measure of life was full and he had come to take leave of them all. He visited all the tombs of the saints at Patan and on his way to Ahmedabad he visited the tomb of Sheikh Ahmed Kattu at Sarkaj. There looking earnestly at his own tomb which he had built in his life time at the foot of Shaik, said that that was the future home of Mehmud. In a short time he would descend there.[26] After this he came to Ahmedabad and fell sick. He died in A.H. 917 (A.D. 1511) and his coffin was buried in the above-mentioned place committed it to the dust. He had reigned for fifty-four years and one month and his age was sixty-seven years and three months. The "*Tabakat-i-Akbari*" says he was called after death Khudaigan-i-Halim", "the great gentle Lord" and says of him that he was gentle, merciful, brave and God-fearing.[27]

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લેખકોને :

૧ પાનની એક જ બાજુએ, ટાઈપ કરેલા અને એ શક્ય ન હોય તો શાહીથી સુવાચ્ય અક્ષરે લખેલા લેખો મોકલવા. ટાઈપ નકલમાં ટાઈપકામની ભૂલોને સુધાર્યા પછી જ લેખ મોકલવો. ગુજરાત વિદ્યાપીઠના જોડણીકોશ પ્રમાણે જોડણી રાખવી આવશ્યક છે. લેખની મૂળ પ્રત જ મોકલવી. લેખની કાર્બન નકલ મોકલો ત્યારે તે અંગેનું સ્પષ્ટ કારણ જણાવવું.

૨ લેખમાં અવતરણો, અન્ય વિદ્વાનોનાં મંતવ્યો ટાંકવામાં આવે તો તે અંગેનો સંદર્ભ પૂરેપૂરી વિગત સાથે આપવો અનિવાર્ય છે. પાદટીપમાં એ સંદર્ભની વિગત આપતાં લેખક અથવા સંપાદક/સંશોધક (અટક પહેલી), ગ્રંથ, પ્રકાશક, પ્રકાશનવર્ષ, આવૃત્તિ, પૃષ્ઠ, એ ક્રમ જાળવવો જરૂરી છે.

૩ 'સ્વાધ્યાય'માં છપાયેલ સર્વ લેખોનો કૉપીરાઈટ મહારાજા સયાજીરાવ યુનિવર્સિટી, વડોદરા હસ્તક છે. લેખકે અથવા અન્ય કોઈએ લેખમાંનો કોઈ અંશ લેખિત પરવાનગી વગર પુનર્મુદ્રિત કરવો નહીં.

૪ સંક્ષેપશબ્દો પ્રયોજતા પહેલાં એ શબ્દો અન્ય સ્થાને પૂરેપૂરા પ્રયોજેલા હોવા જોઈએ.

૫ પાદટીપોનો ક્રમ સળંગ રાખો જે તે પૃષ્ઠ ઉપર તે તે પાદટીપોનો નિર્દેશ જરૂરી છે.

સ્વા ધ્યા ય

સ્વાધ્યાય અને સંશોધનનું ત્રૈમાસિક

સંપાદક : **રામકૃષ્ણ તુ. વ્યાસ**

વર્ષમાં ચાર અંક બહાર પડે છે—દીપોત્સવી અંક, વસંતપંચમી અંક, અક્ષયતૃતીયા અંક અને જન્માષ્ટમી અંક.

લવાજમ :

—ભારતમાં...રૂા. ૨૦ = ૦૦ પૈ. (ટપાલખર્ચ સાથે)

—પરદેશમાં...યુનાઈટેડ સ્ટેટ્સ ઑફ અમેરિકા માટે...૬ ડૉલર (ટપાલખર્ચ સાથે)

—યુરોપ અને અન્ય દેશો માટે...પૌં. ૨.૫૦ (ટપાલખર્ચ સાથે)

આખા વર્ષના ગ્રાહકો લવાજમના વર્ષની શરૂઆતથી જ નોંધવામાં આવે છે. લવાજમ અગાઉથી સ્વીકારવામાં આવે છે. લવાજમ મોકલતી વખતે કયા ગ્રંથ માટે લવાજમ મોકલ્યું છે તે સ્પષ્ટ જણાવવું. લવાજમવર્ષ નવેમ્બરથી ઑક્ટોબર સુધીનું ગણાય છે, જે આ સરનામે મોકલવું—**નિયામકશ્રી, પ્રાચ્યવિદ્યા મન્દિર, મહારાજા સયાજીરાવ વિશ્વવિદ્યાલય, લોકમાન્ય ટિળક રોડ, વડોદરા–૩૯૦ ૦૦૨.**

જાહેરાતો :

આ ત્રૈમાસિકમાં જાહેરાતો આપવા માટે લખો—

સંપાદક, 'સ્વાધ્યાય', પ્રાચ્યવિદ્યા મંદિર, લોકમાન્ય ટિળક રોડ, વડોદરા–૩૯૦ ૦૦૨

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'SARVATA VIJITAMHI'—ROCK EDICT-II

By

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In Rock Edict II Aśoka refers to his dominions under his rule as '*Sarvata Vijitamhi*' which should be literally translated as 'everywhere in the conquered territories of King Priyadarśin....',[1] instead of 'everywhere in the dominions of King Priyadarśin'. Again in Rock Edict III we find his dominions described as '*Sarvatra Vijite*',[2] meaning literally 'everywhere in the conquered territories'. In Rock Edict XIV he says '*mahālake hi vijitam*';[3] it literally means '(My) conquests or conquered territories are great'.

A natural question that comes to mind is that why he is not using the terms '*rājya*' or '*sāmrājya*' or '*rāṣṭra*' or '*svabhūmi*' for his dominions, instead of using such words which denote that the territories under his rule were conquered by himself. The observation '*mahālake hi vijitaṃ*' used in his fourteenth concluding edict of the set of fourteen Rock Edicts, conveys his solemn feeling about his noble victories extending over an exceptionally vast realm. We can-not overlook the significance of this kind of observation on the part of Aśoka in three of his major rock edicts. It has rightly been observed by an author that the word '*vijita*' or '*vijaya*' implies that the royal realm which he held was held as though by the right of conquest.[4]

Aśoka uses the term '*vijita*' in contrast with '*antas*' which are described as '*avijita*' that is unconquered kingdoms on the borders, in Second Separate Rock Edict.[5] This kind of use of two contrasting words further strengthens the

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5 अंतानं अविजितानं Hultzsch, E., *op. cit*, p. 98, 115.

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idea that Aśoka considered himself the master of his empire by the right of his own conquests and not by the right of inheritance. His assertion on the fact that the territories under his rule were subjugated by his own prowess and so his sovereignty over his territories was unquestioned and unchallengeable is noticeable in the phrase '*mahalake hi vijite*.' This victory, no doubt, means his victory in his war with his half-brother Susīma alias Sumana and also his victory over all those parts of the Maurya empire which possibly asserted their independence during the period of turmoil following the death of Bindusāra. This kind of observation on the part of Aśoka, perhaps, gives explanation for the reason of his counting the years of his rule from his coronation which gave him legitimate right over the realm which otherwise might be regarded as belonging to Susīma alias Sumana, whose claims were, in all probablity, greater and legally more valid. It seems that the four years between the death of Bindusāra and the coronation of Aśoka were the years during which Aśoka was fighting in all parts of the Maurya empire against Susīma's forces and also, perhaps, against local oppositions, headed by people who either supported Susīma or had asserted or were trying to assert their independence during the period following the death of Bindusāra. We remember that after the death of Candragupta Maurya, sixteen states in the South had revolted against the Maurya rule and asserted their independence and they were subjugated by Bindusāra with the help of Cāṇakya alias Kauṭilya [6] So it is quite possible that the fratricidal war following the death of Bindusāra, had given good opportunity to the people of different regions of India to think of establishing their independent kingdoms in their respective spheres. And this may be one of the reasons of the late coronation of Aśoka and also for the special importance of this coronation for Aśoka, as his edicts show. If we believe the facts collected from the Pali Chronicles and *Samantapāsādikā*, there were in Jambudvīpa, that is India, one thousand crowned subkings under Aśoka.[7] This probably refers to the chieftains and petty local rulers scattered over different parts of India. And these chiefs and local rulers might have caused much troubles to Aśoka by their efforts to overthrow the yoke of Maurya domination after the death of Bindusāra.

Further in Taranatha's *History of Buddhism in India*, we find that as a prince Aśoka had subdued the peoples of hilly countries like Nepal and Khasya.[8] The Khasas were a Himalayan people, including the ancestors of modern

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6 Taranatha, *History of Buddhism in India*. Translated from the Tibetan by Lama Chimpa, Alaka Chattopadhyaya, edited by Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla, First Edition, May 1970, p. 130.

7 Barua, B. M., *op. cit.*, p. 19.

8 Taranatha, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

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Khakkas of Kaśmīra.[9] Aśoka was sent with an army to subdue them. Without difficulty Aśoka subdued the hilly races, imposed levy and annual tax on them, realised ransom from them and offered them to the king.[10] By these victories his father was pleased and offered him anything he wanted. He said that his brothers were not friendly to him and so he wanted the city of Pāṭaliputra for himself and he got that. After his father's death he fought with his brothers for several years and finally made himself the master of India from the Himālayas to the Vindhyas.[11]

The above narration suggests that his several years' war with his brothers means that period of four years between his accession and coronation.

We further learn from Taranatha that as a king Aśoka conquered without bloodshed all the countries including those to the south of the Vindhyas and he also conquered the northern Himālayas, the snowy ranges beyond Li-yul (Kamsadesa or Khetan), the entire land of Jambudvīpa bounded by seas on east, south, west and also fifty small islands.[12] Here Taranatha, no doubt, refers to his *Dharmavijaya* in his own empire and also in the adjoining parts. We find its coroboration in Rock Edict-II.[13] So it seems that the conquest of Kaliṅga was not the only conquest of Aśoka. It is not right on the part of an author to forward the opinion that Aśoka himself says in his Rock-Edict-XIII, that his only conquest was that of Kaliṅga.[14] In none of the versions of this edict we find any such statement made by Aśoka.

The fact that Aśoka had to invade and conquer Kaliṅga has also a significance relating to Aśoka's claims as a conqueror of the dominions over which he ruled. The list of the peoples conquered by the Nandas, includes the people of Kaliṅga.[15] If Chandragupta, having overthrown the Nandas made himself the

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9 *Ibid*, p. 51, fn. 12.

10 *Ibid.*

11 Taranatha, *Op. cit.*, pp. 51-53.

12 *Ibid*, p. 60.

13 Second Rock Edict: Girnar
do Kalsi
Hutzsch, E., *op. cit.*, pp. 2, 28.

14 Mookerji Radhakumud, *Aśoka*, Publishers : Sunderlal Jain, Motilal Banarasidass, Bunglow Road, Jawahar Nagar, Delhi 6, Third revised and enlarged edition, 1962, p. 16.

15 Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India* (Hindi Trans.) published by Kitab Mahal, 15 Thornhill Road, Allahabad, P. 173.

Majumdar R. C. and Pusalkar A. D., *The Age of the Imperial Unity*, Published by S. Rama Krishnan, Executive Secretary, Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan, Chaupatty Road, Bombay–7, Third Impression, 1960, P. 32.

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master of the Nanda empire and made further additions to it, the logical inference is that Kaliṅga also became a part of the Maurya empire. But Aśokān history tells us that Aśoka subjugated Kaliṅga with tremendous bloodshed. So either the Nandas had simply defeated the Kaliṅgas and made a retreat making Kaliṅga neither a part of their empire nor a tributory state or Kaliṅga had become independent as soon as the Nandas were overthrown. The defeat of the Nandas and capture of Pāṭaliputra probably did not give Candragupta suzerainty over the Indian empire, because we have heard from Greek sources that he, with six lakhs of men, overran and subdued the whole of India.[16] So mere defeat of a reigning monarch or a dynasty did not give a victor full sway over the entire land which had been under the rule of the vanquished. The fact that Candragupta had to overrun the whole of India to establish his rule throughout the length and breadth of the country, proves it.

So we can infer that after the death of Bindusāra, Aśoka first defeated a coalition of his half brothers who whole-heartedly and actively supported the cause of Susīma alias Sumans and then for four years Aśoka carried on warfare in different parts of the country to defeat and crush hostile revolting parties and then having consolidated his position he got himself coronated.

So the expression ' everywhere in the conquered territories (*sarvata vijitam hi*) on the part of Aśoka neither means that the territories were originally conquered by his father and his grandfather nor that those were under his rule as dominions inherited by right of succession or obtained simply by setting aside the rights of a rival claimant by prowess of arms. Nor can we hold that the expression ' *Sarvata Vijitamhi* ' is just a vain boasting on the part of Aśoka claiming the dominions as his own conqured territories. Perhaps it will not be an exaggeration to say that Aśoka had to reconquer India once conquered by his grandfather.

It has been pointed out by an author that the literal meaning of ' *vijita* ' is conquered and its derivative and current meaning is territory or dominion.[17] We are also informed that the word *Vijita* is used in Buddhist Sanskrit literature in the sense of a kingdom or dominion.[18] Authors like R. K. Mookerji,[19] V. A.

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16 Majumdar R. C., *Classical Accounts of India*, Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Publishers, 6/1A, Banchharam Akrur Lane, Calcutta-12, 1st Edition, 1960, p. 198.

17 Pandey Rajbali, *Historical and Literary Inscriptions*, The Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, Varanasi-1, 1962, P. 6, fn. 1.

18 Basak, Radhagovinda, *Aśokan Inscriptions*, Progressive publishers, 37 College street, Calcutta-12, First impression, 1959, p. 8.

19 Mookerji, R. K., *Aśoka*, Publishers, Motilal Banarasidas, Delhi,

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Smith,[20] E. Hultzsch[21] have used the term in the sense of dominions. Dr. Bhandarkar[22] has given both the meanings of the term in his note on the word *vijita* as 'conquered country' 'realm,' 'dominions.' R. K. Mookerji has translated '*Mahālake hi vijitam*' of R. E. XIV as 'vast is the conquered territory.'[23] But he has not given any explanation for translating the term '*vijitam*' in this particular edict as 'conquered territories,' though he has translated the terms '*vijitam*' and '*vijite*' as dominions in the case of Rock edicts II & III.

Prof. Cunningham has given the literal meaning of the term *vijita* as given by both Princep and Wilson. So we find 'everywhere within the conquered provinces' and 'in all the subjugated territories' rendered by Prinsep and Wilson respectively for the words '*Sarvata vijitamhi*' in Rock edicts, II.[24]

In the case of Aśoka, the points that we have discussed above, possibly establish with good amount of certainty that he used the term in the sense of conquered or subjugated territories and not simply as dominions under his rule.

Varanasi, Patna, 3rd ed. 1962, pp. 131, 133.

20 Smith, V. A., *Aśoka*, published by S. Chand & Company, Asaf Ali Road, New Delhi, First Indian Reprint 1957.

21 Hultzsch, E., *op. cit.*, pp. 3, 5, 26.

22 Bhandarkar, D. R., *Aśoka*, fourth edition, University of Calcutta, 1969, Printed and published by Sibendranath Kanjilal, Superintendent, Calcutta University Press, 48 Hazra Road, Ballygunge, Calcutta p. 262.

23 Mookerji, R. K., *Loc. cit.*, p. 171.

24 Cunningham Alexander, *C.I.I. Vol. I*, Indological Book House, C. K. 38/16 Bans Phatak, Varanasi. (India), 1961, p. 117.

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GAṆEŚALAHARĪ OF GOPĪNĀTHA—A RARE AND LITTLE-KNOWN STOTRAWORK

By

MUKUND LALJI WADEKAR*

Introductory

In the diversified and extensive field of Sanskrit Literature, *Stotras* occupy a very important and indispensable place, as poetic pieces, exuberant with poetic imagination, devotional Sentiment and different figures of Speech. There are several kinds of *Stotras*, composed by eminent poets in praise of their favourite deities. The *Stotras* of Śaṅkarācārya are the most famous among them, due to their simplicity of diction, depth of philosophical thought and immensity of devotional sentiment. Not only Śaṅkarācārya, but several other poet—stars like Jagannātha Paṇḍita, Mayūra, Bāṇa and others, of the galaxy of Sanskrit Literature also have made the entire field resplendant with the lustre of their devotional songs, of different varieties, superb with the inmost feelings. Among such *Stotras*, there are also numerous *Kāvyas*, that are styled as *Laharīkāvyas*. The most famous among them are the *Saundaryalaharī* of Śaṅkarācārya and the *Gaṅgālaharī* of Jagannātha Paṇḍita. Composed on similar lines, the present work, namely *Gaṇeśalaharī* is a small but rare *Stotra*, written by Gopīnātha.

Gaṇeśalaharī Specified :

The present paper is written with a view to introducing the *Stotra* namely the *Gaṇeśalaharī* of Gopīnātha. In the *New Catalogous Catalogorum*,[1] there is the entry of the *Gaṇeśalaharī* but it is noted there that the *Gaṇeśalaharī* is the same as *Herambacaraṇāmṛtalaharī* of Accyutarāya Moḍaka. Thus here the reference is to the work *Herambacaraṇāmṛtalaharī*, (and not to the *Gaṇeśalaharī*) the manuscripts of which are available at *Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśodhaka Maṇḍala* Library of Poona, as mentioned in the *NCC*. In the *Gaṇeśakośa*[2] of Shri Amarendra Gadgil, the *Stotra*, named *Gaṇeśastutilaharī*, also known as the *Gaṇeśalaharī*, composed by Khaṇḍarāja is found, which incorporates some vedic

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* Oriental Institute, Baroda.

1 *New Catalogous Catalogorum*, University of Madras, Vol. V, 1969, p. 280, Vol. I, 1949, p. 61, Vol. VI, 1971, pp. 160-165.

2 Gadgil, Amarendra: *Gaṇeśakośa*, Shriganeshkosh Mandal, Pune, Second ed., 1968, p. 470.

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mantras and contains fifty-four verses in all. Similarly, while describing *Gaṇeśa-granthas*, the author has also dealt with one Sanskrit work, namely the *Gaṇeśa-tattvasudhālaharī*, composed by the poet Nīlakaṇṭha Śāstrī, containing totally 246 verses in two *taraṅgas*.[3] There is also reference to the *Gaṇeśalaharī* on page 123, in the enumeration of names of the books, found in the list namely *Gāṇa-patyopayogī Pustakānām Saṅgrahaḥ*, published by Chintamanarao Balakrishna Dhadaphale (Deshmukh) (of Kashi). But, unfortunately, excepting some works of the list, most of them are rare and even the author himself could not consult them. Though there is reference to the *Gaṇeśalaharī* here, it is not quite clear which work is referred to by it, as there is no mention of the author of the said *Stotra*. Thus it is evident that though there are several works styled as *Gaṇeśalaharī*, the one, written by Gopīnātha, dealt with in the present paper, is quite a different one. The reference to Allahabad & Kavīndrācārya, found under the entry of the *Gaṇeśalaharī* in *NCC* is also vague, as it is not clear which work is referred to and who is the author of the said work. In the entry of Gopīnatha, in *NCC*, there is no reference to the author of the *Gaṇeśalaharī*.

Gaṇeśalaharī of Gopīnātha—Quite A Rare Stotra :

It was mentioned previously that the *Gaṇeśalaharī* of Gopīnātha is not specifically referred to in the *New Catalogous Catalogorum*. There is no mention of it in the *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature* of Dr. M. Krishnamachariar.[4] It is also not found in the Printed Collections of *Stotras* and the *Gaṇeśakośa*, already referred to. Thus, the *Stotra* is quite rare and little-known. The present research paper is written with a view to introducing this forgetten, obliterated *Stotra*, based upon the study of the rare and original manuscript, available in the Oriental Institute of Baroda. In fact, this paper is an attempt to salvage this rare *Stotra* from going into complete oblivion.

The Rare Manuscript in the Oriental Institute :

The Oriental Institute of Baroda has a vast and valuable treasure of several important and rare manuscripts, on a variety of subjects. The *Gaṇeśalaharī* of Gopīnātha is also one of the rarest works, found in the extensive collection of mss. in the Oriental Institute. It has been noted previously that neither the work nor its manuscript is referred to in the *NCC*. It is deposited in the O.I. with its ACC No. 11763. This manuscript contains the *Gaṇeśalaharī* in folios 47 to 50. It is complete in its form in the said folios of the manuscript, written in *Devanāgarī* Script, with quite clear and readable handwriting. The *Grantha-saṅkhyā* of the work is about 170. The *Stotra* is copied on a country-made

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3 *Ibid.*, p. 124.

4 Krishnamachariar, M. : *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi, Third ed., 1974.

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paper of 29 cms. × 14 cms. size, written on both sides, with about 29 letters to a line and 27 lines to a page or one side of the folio.

The Scribe and his Peculiarities :

The name of the Scribe as evident from the post-colophon entry is Nandikeśvara, who was resident of Navīnapura and was most probably a descendant of a Brahmin family. He begins with a salutation to *Gaṇapati* and *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* and solicits benediction at the end with the words '*Śubhaṁ Bhavatu*'. There are some marginal corrections and additions, which suggest fidelity and conscientiousness of the scribe. As regards the peculiarities of writing, it is noteworthy that sometimes letters are doubled i.e. *Nāryyaḥ* and *Anusvāra* is always used for nasals, without resorting to *parasavarṇa* rule. The date of the scribe is not found.

The Author—Gopīnātha :

In the verse no. 51, the name of the author of the present work, namely *Gaṇeśalaharī* is explicitly mentioned as Gopīnātha. The author has also mentioned some personal information and date, place and general nature of the work (verses 49 to 52). He was resident of the *Viśveśvara nagarī* i.e. modern Benares. The present *Stotra* was composed by him in V.S, 1785 i.e. 1729 A.D.; written in *Śikhariṇī* metre, it was completed by him on the Full-moon day of the Bright fortnight in the month of *Caitra*.

Regarding the *Stotra* and his ability of composing it, the poet has some important remarks. The concept is : The Lord was sporting in the ocean in the form of Vedas. A drop of good verses was thrown upon the poet by the Lord. This is in the form of the present *Stotra*. The sweet tones of small children exhilarate the minds of the people. This praise of *Gaṇapati*, composed through His Grace only may also similarly be accepted by Him. He assures that the devout reciter of this *Stotra* can obtain success, virtue and wealth, because nothing is inaccessible for a person, with whom the God becomes pleased.

Summary of Contents :

The *Stotra*, as suggested by its very title, is in praise of the favourite deity of the poet namely *Gaṇapati*. The very titling of it as *Laharī* can clearly suggest that the poet had an idea of composing this *Stotra* for eulogizing Lord *Gaṇeśa*, in the style of the other *Stotras* like the *Saundaryalaharī* or the *Gaṅgālaharī*. The metre, used here is as usual *Śikhariṇī*, having four lines, with seventeen letters in each. Totally there are fifty-two verses in the same metre.

In the beginning, the poet eulogizes Him in the most general manner as the bestower of all kinds of happiness, most benevolent, compassionate Lord, captivating minds of scholars etc. Then His physical features are referred to. His temples are wet with the incessant flow of *dāna* and decorated with ornaments and the necklace of jewels. In the four huge arms, *Varadamudrā*, Lotus, noose and goad are held. With wide buttocks, but comparative small feet. He appears

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very strange in form, yet is capable of bestowing happiness to His devotees. His beauty is very captivating and attractive and his glance is for the benefit of the world. His miraculous appearance is inconceivable even by the Vedas. Through the greatness of His side-glance, the wise obtain all the aims of life, by overcoming all difficulties. His magnificent *dhāma* (Abode) in the *maṇidvīpa* and His Shining Home are also described. He is sitting on the lustrous jewelled throne, fanned by a group of ladies. His armed followers, standing on all doors are always intent on removing calamities of devotees. There is no epithet that is not meaningful in his respect. His huge belly seems to incorporate the infinite *Brahmāṇḍa* in it, hence his epithet *Lambodara* is found. He is the Lord of *gaṇas* i e. *tattvas*, hence he is *Gaṇapati*. With golden vessels, Gods offered water to Him, which became later on the water of holy *tīrthas* (religious places), as it is sanctified due to its contact with the body of the Lord. Though he is enclosed with the garment in the form of Vedas, he happily accepts the garment offered with devotion by his devotees. The musk-deers whose musk has been applied to the Lord's body have obtained good *gati*, being already sanctified. Even wind due to his service at the feet of the great God, has become the Soul of the entire world. He is so compassionate that though he has been worshipped by Gods, with the offering of divine flowers at His feet, He is also pleased with the offering of simple *dūrvā* grass with devotion. In separate verses, the offering of fragrant *dhūpa, dīpa, bhakṣya* (eatable food etc.), fruits, *tāmbūla*, holy-water of Ganges, *puṣpāñjali* and dance by beautiful ladies, has been eulogized. His greatness is evident from the fact that the Divine pairs like *Lakṣmī* & *Viṣṇu*, *Pārvatī* & *Śaṅkara*, *Rati* & *Madana* and *Avanī* & *Vanavarāha* are residing in places nearby Him. Some describe the Lord to be the Primordial Supreme Puruṣa, while others talk of Him as beyond three *guṇas* still others call Him *saguṇa*. In fact He is indescribable, undertaking different forms for the benefit of His devotees. He himself is in the form of different Gods, like, Viṣṇu, Indra, Vāyu, Sūrya etc. The devotees worship Him in different places like heart, the head etc. But once they enjoy the taste of bliss in His devotion, they become quite pleased in His service. The entire world has sprung from Him. He is the originator even of the *māyā*, having three *guṇas*.

The ordinary person, with his limited knowledge can not know the infinite *lilās* of God. Even the Serpent Ananta, possessing infinite mouths is praising His virtues, everyday, at all times, yet there is no end to his act. For destroying the demon *Sindūrāsya*, He took the mouth of elephant. It is not at all miraculous or strange that he wrote the entire *Mahābhārata* and gave it to Vyāsa, because the entire mass of Veda is in the form of His breathing. Then the poet refers to a sacrifice in which the 108 *apūpas* are offered with devotion. The person becomes wealthy as a fruit of it. Nothing is impossible, when the God is compassionate upon His devotee.

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Some Remarks :

The entire Stotra is no doubt replete with devotional Sentiment, yet there is some tinge of *Śṛṅgāra rasa* also in Verses (26--8), in which we find very picturesque and vivid description of the beauty of Divine damsels. There are also several verses, that contain poetic imaginations and ideas of superb quality (e.g. verse 13, 16, 17, 36, 41, 49, 50 etc.). The *rūpaka* in verse 19, regarding the ever-shining *dīpa* for the Lord is also quite noteworthy. The episodes of killing of *Sindūrāsya* demon and writing of the *Mahābhārata* for *Vyāsa* are referred to. Though the poet has tried his best for making it perfect, there are sometimes metrical defects (for example verse 40 line 1). There seems to be some influence of *Saundaryalaharī* on the text as the poet seems to have written some verses (e.g. 29, 37, 39, 42) on the model of similar verses found in the *Saundaryalaharī*.

Conclusion :

It would be clear from the above exposition, that by composing this *Laharī* in praise of *Ganapati*, the poet Gopīnātha has made an important contribution to the Classical Sanskrit Literature in general and to the *Stotra* literature in particular. By the present research paper, the researcher has made an attempt to bring to light, an otherwise forgotten, contribution of the said poet.

॥ श्रीः ॥

गणेशलहरी ।

(गोपीनाथविरचिता)

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ।

श्रीदक्षिणामूर्तिभ्यो नमः ।

सदानन्दाकारं सकलसुखकर्तारममलं
महोदारं तारं विबुधपरिवारं सुरवरम् ।
कृपापारावारं श्रुतिनुतविहारं सुमनसां
मनोहर्तारं त्वां गजवदनमात्मन्परिणुमः ॥ १ ॥

सदादानस्रावस्नपितविलसद्गण्डयुगलं
लुलल्लोलव्यालाभरणमणिमालाविलसितम् ।
प्रचण्डैर्दोर्दण्डैर्वरकमलपाशाङ्कुशधरै-
र्लसन्तं श्रीमन्तं गजमुखमनन्तं परिणुमः ॥ २ ॥

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चलत्कर्णोपान्ते श्रुतिरुचिररावो मधुलिहां
विना तारं नायं प्रभवति सुखाय श्रुतमपि ।
विमृश्यैवं विघ्नावलिहरणशीलेन भवता
महाशुण्डादण्डः प्रणवसमतापैव (यै वि°) लिपितः ॥ ३ ॥

स्वभावे बालेन्दुद्युतिरमलकुम्भस्थलयुगा-
त्स्रवत्स दा(°सदा)नाम्भःपरिमलमनोहारिवर(द)नात् ।
कणत्काञ्चीदामाभरणमणिमुक्तातिरुचिरा
तवेयं सन्मूर्तिर्वरद वरदा नः सुखयतु ॥ ४ ॥

लसत्सद्ब्रह्माण्डद्वयशकलकुम्भस्थलरुचां
दिशां प्रान्तोद्भासच्छ्रवणमरुणाभेभवदनम ।
नराकारं चाद्यः पृथुलकटिभारं मृदुपदं
विचित्रं त्वद्रूपं प्रभवति मुदे किं न भजताम् ॥ ५ ॥

त्वदीयं सौन्दर्यं सुहृदयमनोहारि भगव-
न्कटाक्षोऽयं लोकेष्वनुपमविभूत्यै सुविदितः ।
विचित्रं चित्रं[1] ते श्रुतिभिरवितर्क्यं मुनिवरैः
सदा ध्यातं युष्मच्चरणयुगलं नः सुखयतु ॥ ६ ॥

त्वदीयापाङ्गेनावगतपुरुषार्थाः सुमनसो
निहत्य प्रत्यूहान्निखिलकृतसत्कर्मनिचयाः ।
स्थिता युष्मत्पार्श्वे परमसुखसिद्धिं द्युपगता
न ते भूयः स्वर्गेष्वपि जननमायान्त्यवशतः ॥ ७ ॥

लसत्स्वर्णेलायां तरलिततरङ्गेक्षुजलधौ
मणिद्वीपे दिव्य[2]द्रुमनिकरकुञ्जेऽरुणरुचि ।
कृपासिन्धो भव्यं किमपि विमलं धाम भवतो
विभाति प्राणेश प्रभवतु मुदेऽस्माकमिह तत् ॥ ८ ॥

चतुर्द्वारोपेतं सकलसुखसंपत्तिसहितं
वरं स्वर्णस्तम्भावलिविलसितं रत्नखचितम् ।
लसद्भानोर्भाभिः सदृशमणिमालाभिरमल-
प्रभाभिर्भास्वद्यें[द्यद्]गृहमपि च मन्दं स्फुरति ते ॥ ९ ॥

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1 चित्रं in marg. 2 Before corr. °द्यु

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प्रवालस्तम्भाढ्ये वरकनकवस्त्रास्तरणके
लसन्नारीवृन्दे परिरचितबालव्यजनके ।
लसच्छत्रोपान्ते विशदमणिपीठे प्रतिदिनं
भवन्तं भूतानामधिपमभिवन्देऽरुणतनुम् ॥ १० ॥

प्रतिद्वारस्था ये विपुलमतयस्तेऽनुसरिणो
महोदारा भक्तव्यसनविनिवारायुधधराः ।
वदन्तस्त्वामेवं निजजनममुं पालय विभो
नमस्कुर्मस्तेभ्यस्तव विमलभक्तिं ददतु मे ॥ ११ ॥

भवेयुर्मे प्रीत्यै शतधृतिमुखास्तेऽप्यनिमिषाः
प्रसन्नाः श्रीमन्तः सुभगवदनाश्चारुवपुषः ।
विधाय त्वत्पूजां विमलबहुपूजोपकरणैः
स्तुवन्ति त्वामीशं सकलजनसौख्याय सततम् ॥ १२ ॥

अनन्तब्रह्माण्डोद्वहनमुदरं भाति भवत-
स्ततो देवैर्गीतस्त्वमसि वर लम्बोदर इति ।
गणानां तत्त्वानामधिपतिरतस्त्वं गणपति-
र्न चानर्था काचिज्जगति भवदाख्यातिरुदिता ॥ १३ ॥

इदं येषामम्भः कनककलशेनामरगणै-
स्त्वदर्थं सद्भक्त्या विविधमनुना नीतमपि यत् ।
अघौघं संहर्तुं तव सुतनुसङ्गात्सुरपते
सुतीर्थानां तेषामभवदमलं वारि सकलम् ॥ १४ ॥

सुराधीशे भानूदयरुचिरकान्तौ त्वयि विभो
महच्छ्रीमच्छन्दोमयवसनमाभाति नियतम्[3] ।
तथापि त्वं भक्त्यार्पितवसनमादाय भगवन्
श[4]शीव प्रीणासि प्रणयितमिमं सेवकजनम् ॥ १५ ॥

त्वदीयाङ्गे येषां मृगमदविलेपो मृगगणाः
पवित्रीभूतास्ते शुभगतिमियन्तस्त्ववशतः ।
समीरोऽभूद्धुष्मच्चरणपरिचर्याचरणतो
जगत्प्राणस्तस्मा[5]त्तव चरणभक्तिर्भवतु मे ॥ १६ ॥

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or 12 3 before corr. °ताम् 4 before corr. °री° 5 °स्मा° in marg.

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कृपासिन्धो दिव्यैर्कुसुमनिचयैः कोमलतरैः
सुगन्धाढ्यैर्नित्यं रुचिररुचिभिः पूजितपदः ॥

तथापि त्वं भक्त्यार्पितविमलदूर्वाङ्कुरदलैः
प्रसन्नस्तस्मान्नो त्वमिव सुरपूज्यस्त्वमसि मे ॥ १७ ॥

कृपासिन्धो स्वामिन्विविधसुरभिद्रव्यसहितः
सुगन्धाढ्यो दिव्यः पुरुघृतसिताद्यैर्विरचितः ।

सुराणां संस्तुत्यः परमसुखदस्ते प्रतिदिनं
पुरस्ताद्धूपोऽयं सुवर भवन्तं सुखयतु ॥ १८ ॥

धरित्री सत्पात्रं जलधिविमले स्नेहसहितं
सुमेरुः सद्वर्ति द्युमणिरपि यस्य द्युतिरिति ।

अखण्डोऽयं दीपः सुखयति भवन्तं सुरपते
तथैवायं दीपः प्रवणरचितस्त्वां सुखयतु ॥ १९ ॥

पुरस्ते यद्भक्तैर्न्युपहृतमिदं भक्ष्यममलं
दधि क्षीरं चाज्यं मधु लवणमिक्षोर्घनरसम् ।

सुमृष्टं संस्निग्धं विविधरसमास्वादसहितं
सितासिक्तं चाज्यं सुखयतु भवन्तं तदखिलम् ॥ २० ॥

रसालाख्यं द्राक्षाफलममृतकल्पं च कदली-
फलं तद्वज्जम्बूफलमपि तथान्यानि भवता ।

फलानि स्वादूनि त्रिभुवनपते यानि कृपया
गृहीतानि श्रेयस्तव भजनशीले विदधतु ॥ २१ ॥

इदं यत्ताम्बूलं त्रिभुवनपते हर्षजनकं
लवङ्गैलापूगीफलमृग[6]मदाद्यैर्विरचितम् ।

त्वदर्थं चानीतं वदनरुचिकृत्सौख्यजनकं
त्वया भुक्तं भव्यं व्यसनविनिवाराय भवतु ॥ २२ ॥

इदं गाङ्गं वारि त्रिभुवनमनोहारि विमलं
पवित्रं पावित्र्यं जनयति जनानामविरलम् ।

मयानीतं भक्त्या वरकनककुम्भेन भगवँ-
स्त्वदर्थं पेयं तद्भवतु तव तुष्टयै प्रतिदिनम् ॥ २३ ॥

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6 before corr. °द°

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भवत्पादाम्भोजे कमलकरवीरादिकुसुमैः
सदूर्वाबिल्वाम्राङ्कुरकनकपुष्पैर्विलसितम् ।
समर्प्येमां पुष्पाञ्जलिमनुपमां देव भवतो
मुदे नित्यं सन्तु प्रणतय इमा मे विरचिता ॥ २४ ॥

रणत्तालं वीणामुरजमपि वेण्वादिकमिदं
गृहीत्वा या नार्यः कमलनयनाश्चारुवदनाः ।
पुरस्ते कुर्वन्ति त्रिभुवनपते नृत्यमतुलं
नमस्कुर्मस्ताभ्यो वरद तव भक्तिं ददतु मे ॥ २५ ॥

गलद्वेणीबन्धस्रवदमलगन्धाढ्यकुसुमा-
श्चलद्वस्त्रप्रान्तश्रमितभृकुटीलोलनयनाः ।
क्वणत्काञ्च्यो हर्षात्स्थगितगतयश्चारुवदना-
स्त्वदीया नर्तक्यो मयि विमलभावं विदधताम् ॥ २६ ॥

स्थिता युष्मत्पार्श्वे वरकनकदिव्याम्बरधरा
लसत्पीनस्निग्धस्तनजघनभाराश्च सुभगाः ।
कृशोदर्यः श्यामास्तडित इव ता देववनिता
नमन्ति त्वामीशं तव विमलभक्तान्सुखयितुम् ॥ २७ ॥

लसन्नीव्यो देव्यश्चिकुरनिकरान्सुन्दरतरा-
न्समाकुञ्च्यापीनस्तनयुगलमाछाद्य ललितम् ।
त्वदीयास्तीव्राद्या नव परिमिताः शक्तय इमा
वहन्त्यस्ते पीठं मम हृदयपद्मे विदधतु ॥ २८ ॥

सदानन्दं बिन्दुः कलयतु मदन्तः सुगुणतां
त्रिकोणं षट्कोणं षडरिविजयं ते वसुदलम् ।
सुराणामैश्वर्यं नृपदलमिदं षोडशकला
त्रिवृत्तं वेदास्रत्रितयमपि सर्वार्थनिचयम् ॥ २९ ॥

यदग्रे देवानां सुरभिरनुभागे सुवनिते
तयोः पार्श्वे पुत्रौ निधिरपि पुरो यस्य विपुलः ।
यदग्रे गोधीशा विबुधनिकराः सायुधकरा
नमस्तस्मै तुभ्यं शरणद शरण्यं सुखय माम् ॥ ३० ॥

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त्वदग्रे सद्विल्वीद्रुमतलनिवासातिमुदिती
रमाविष्णू एतौ सितजलजनीलाम्बुजनिभौ ।
सरोजे[7] बिभ्राणौ सितवदनपीताम्बरधरौ
विभूत्यै मे स्यातां त्वदभिमुखमास्थाय सततम ॥ ३१ ॥

सदोदारावेतौ वरद तव तौ दक्षिणरतौ
वटाधोवासीनौ वरकनककोद[8]ण्डसदृशौ ।
सुराधीशौ नेत्रत्रितयविलसच्चारुवपुषौ
शिवेशावानन्दं विमलमनसा मे कलयताम् ॥ ३२ ॥

सुखासीनावेतौ त्वदनुवरबोधिद्रुमतले
सरोजे पुष्पेषून्धनुरपि दधानौ विजयिनौ ।
त्रिलोकीदर्पघ्नौ रतिमदनदेवौ मम विभो
शिवायैव स्यातां वरकनकवैदूर्यवपुषौ ॥ ३३ ॥

कृपासिन्धोर्वामे वरकनकसिंहासनरतौ
प्रियङ्गुच्छायायां नवजलदनीलाम्बुजनिभौ ।
विधातारौ देवौ सितवसनपीताम्बरधरौ
मयि प्रेमप्रेम्णावनिवनवराहौ कलयताम् ॥ ३४ ॥

स्थिता युष्मत्पार्श्वे वरदवर वैनायकगणाः
प्रमोदाद्याः सिद्धचष्टकसहितषट्कोणनिलयाः ।
त्वदीयेभ्यो नृभ्यः सकलसुखमानन्दमतुलं
वहन्तस्ते नित्यं तव चरणभक्तिं ददतु मे ॥ ३५ ॥

क्व चाहं ते मायागुणगणसमुद्भासितवपुः
क्व च त्वं मायेशो निरवधिसुखस्यैकशरणम् ।
तथापि त्वं दीनोद्धरणबिरुदोऽसीत्यविरलं
सुखं धत्से दीने मयि भजनहीनेऽतिकृपया ॥ ३६ ॥

वदन्ति त्वामाद्यं परमपुरुषं वेदविदो
गुणातीतं केचित्सगुणमपरे भक्तिरसिकाः ।
परं तत्त्वं कस्ते कथयितुमिह स्यात्त्रिभुवने
यतो जातोदारं जयति तव सद्धाम विमलम् ॥ ३७ ॥

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7 After corr. °ज 8 before corr. °दि°

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तवेदं रूपं चेद्यदि न हि भवेद्भक्तिजनकं
तदासक्तः को वा भवति भजने किंचिदपि ते ।
कृपासिन्धो दिव्यान्यनुपमसरूपाणि भगव-
न्नतस्त्वं भक्तानामनुपमसुखार्थं प्रकुरुषे ॥ ३८ ॥

हृदिस्थं त्वां केचिद्विपुलमतयो लब्धसुदृशो
यजन्त्यन्ये मूर्ध्नि स्थितमजमनन्तामृतरसम् ।
यथानन्दस्वादानुभवमपि जानन्ति भगवँ-
स्तथा युष्मत्सेवामुदितमनसो भक्तिरसिकाः ॥ ३९ ॥

यथा हि काश्यां ते वसति सकलं वस्तु विमलं
तथैवेदं विश्वं त्वयि महति रूपे सुविमलम् ।
तवाग्रे ते माध्यं तव निरवसानं सुरपते
प्रवक्तुं कः शक्तः प्रभवति नरो वा नरपतिः ॥ ४० ॥

अनन्तास्ते लीला ललितवपुषा या विरचिताः
कथं ज्ञातुं शक्या वरद मनुजैरल्पनिगमैः ।
अनन्तोऽनेकास्यैरनुदिनमिमांस्ते गुणगणा-
न्वदन्वारंवारं तदपि तु न वारं स लभते ॥ ४१ ॥

त्वमीश त्वं विष्णुस्त्वमसि च विरिञ्चिः सुरपते
त्वमिन्द्रोऽर्कों वायुस्त्वमसि परमं दैवतमपि ।
इदं त्वत्तो जातं जगदखिलमुद्भाति भगवन्-
यतस्त्वं मायायास्त्रिगुणजनिताया जनयिता ॥ ४२ ॥

यदा जातः पद्मासनवदनतो जृम्भणवशा-
द्विभो सिन्दूरास्यः सुरपतिरिपुर्दैत्यगणपः ।
अजेयोऽन्यैं रूपैरिति सपदि संहृत्य भवता
करीन्द्रास्यं धृत्वा निजजनमुदेऽसौ विनिहतः ॥ ४३ ॥

कृपासिन्धो कश्चिद्वदति यदि पुंसामपि पुर-
स्तदैवास्मिँल्लोके सपदि लभते सोऽर्थमखिलम् ।
भवद्द्वारिस्थोऽहं मयि कुरु कृपामित्यनुदिनं
वदाम्युच्चैः स्वामिन्नुचितमिदमस्ति त्वयि तु किम् ॥ ४४ ॥

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प्रभो पूर्वं प्रेम्णा वरद वरदं तेन भवता
लिखित्वा व्यासायार्पितमिद(ह) महाभारतमिदम् ।

न तच्चित्रं यत्ते श्वसितमिदमस्ति श्रुतिकुलं
त्वदिच्छाचिच्छक्ति(क्ती) रचयति जगज्जालमखिलम् ॥ ४५ ॥

त्वदीयं बीजं यो भजति सततं भक्तिसहितः
प्रभो तीर्थान्सर्वान्भवदनुभवादाशु लभते ।

अतः सर्वे युष्मद्विमलमनवः कल्पतरवो
वरिष्ठाः संतुष्टाः सकलसुखदाः सन्ति भजताम् ॥ ४६ ॥

अयि प्राणेशस्त्वं प्रणयिनि मयि प्रेमसहितं
कृपापाङ्गालोकं विरचय विभोऽनन्तमहिमन् ।

यथा भूयो भूयो भवदमलभक्तिं विरचय-
न्कृतार्थस्तस्यां तत्त्वरितमनुशाधि त्वमिह माम् ॥ ४७ ॥

अपूपान् यो भक्त्या मृदुतरमधुस्वादुसहिता-
ञ्जुहोत्यग्नावब्दं शतपरिमितांस्त्वष्टसहितान् ।

चतुर्थ्यामर्थार्थो धनपतिरिवाढ्यः स भवति
प्रभो नैतच्चित्रं तव करुणया किं न भवति ॥ ४८ ॥

जलक्रीडां कर्तुं निगमजलधौ संविहरतां(ता)
दयासिन्धोश्छन्दोमयविमलसुश्लोककणिका ।

त्वया क्षिप्ता यस्मिन्मयि विनयिनी प्रेमसहिता
जनानां सानन्दं जनयतु सदानन्दलहरी ॥ ४९ ॥

मयाकारि स्वामिँस्तव वरदमूर्तेर्भगवतः
कृपातः कापीयं वचनरचनाभिः स्तुतिरिह ।

त्वमङ्गीकुर्वेनामपि च सततं प्रीतिमनया
यतो लोकः स्वान्तं सुखयति शिशूनां कलरवैः ॥ ५० ॥

इति श्रीब्रह्मादिस्तुतवरदमूर्तेः स्तुतिमिमां
शुभां **गोपीनाथार्पितविमलपद्यां** च ललिताम् ।

पठेद्यो वै भक्त्या स भवति यशोधर्मधनभाक्
कृपासिन्धौ तुष्टे किमपि न भवेद्दुर्लभमिति ॥ ५१ ॥

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स्तुतिस्त्वेषा **विश्वेश्वरवरनगर्यां** निवसता
शरेभागेन्द्वब्दे विलसति विभो विक्रमशकात ।
मधौ मासे शुक्लेऽभवदमलतिथ्यां विरचिता
मया युष्मत्प्रीत्यै सुखयतु सदास्मान्शिखरिणी ॥ ५२ ॥

॥ **इति श्रीगणेशलहरी[स्तोत्रं]संपूर्णम्** ॥

॥ **शुभं भवतु** ॥

लिखितं(ता) नवीनपुरमध्ये भटनन्दकेश्वरेणैषा । ॥ श्रीः ॥

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MINERAL OIL IN THE ANCIENT WORLD WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO SANSKRIT AND PRĀKRIT LITERATURE*

By

B. J. SANDESARA†

Mineral oil deposits are found throughout the world. They lie beneath farm land, forests, deserts and even below lakes and oceans.

Tiny drops of oil and bubbles of gas moved from the mud-beds in which they were formed above the rock-beds. But not all the oil comes from underground pools. Some of it may be taken from 'shale,' layers of compressed clay or silt and minerals.

It is generally believed that the discovery and use of mineral oil is very recent in the world. This belief is not correct. In early times, man used petroleum that seeped to the surface from underground springs. The ancient Egyptians coated mummies with *pitch* or natural asphalt. The *Old Testament* tells how the mother of Moses coated his cradle with *pitch* so that it would float on the river Nile. The Chinese people found natural gas while digging for rock-salt, and used it as fuel as early as 1000 B.C. King Nebuchadnezzar (about 600 B.C.) of Assyria used to build the walls and pave the streets of Babylon with natural asphalt. The Assyrian masons used asphalt for construction with bricks while building the city of Nineveh, and the Persians also used it to build their cities. Boatmen on the river Euphrates made the small vessels of woven reads and smeared them with asphalt. The people of ancient Iraq sailed such boats on the Euphrates and the practice still continues.[1]

The Greek historian Horodotus (born in 484 B.C.) has described in details the oil-wells in ancient Persia. He writes " Some five miles from Ardericca[2] is the well which produces three different substances-bitumen, salt and *oil.* They are procured in the following way: The machine used to draw the liquid is a

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1 *The World Book Encyclopedia*, Vol. XIV, pp. 297-98, 309.

2 As stated by Herodotus earlier in his book, this place was about 26 miles away from the famous Persian city of Susa.

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swipe—a long pole balanced horizontally on a pivot instead of a bucket, half a wine-skin is attached to the pole at the end, and they dip with this, draw up the stuff, and pour it into a tank; from the tank it is drained off into another receptacle, and the three substances become separated; the bitumen and salt solidify at once. The Persian word for the oil is *rhadinace*; it is dark in colour and has a strong smell."[3]

The American Indian used petroleum hundreds of years before the white man came. The Toltec Indians of Maxico set mosaic tiles with bitumen. Remains of ancient oil wells are found in the oil regions of Pennsylvania, Kentucky and Ohio. No one knows how long ago the inhabitants dug these wells, but trees hundreds of years old have grown over some of them. Jesuit missionaries in North America found Indians scopping up oil from seapages, or surface pools, in the early 1600 S. The American Indians used the oil for fuel and medicine.[4]

It is a common presumption in the Western World that the people of India did not know about the mineral oil until very recently when the European nation started oil explorations in Persia and the Arab Countries.

A reference to 'Persian Oil' (*Pārasīka taila*) in the *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* of the Kashmirian poet Bilhaṇa (11th century A.D.) is comparatively well-known. 'The fire of (the hero's) separation' from the heroine-fire which could not be assuaged by ice-water or by sandal paste—is there compared by the poet to the blazing fire ignited with the Persian oil. The following is the verse under reference from the *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*—

अचिन्तनीयं तुहिनद्रवाणां श्रीखण्डवापीपयसामसाध्यम् ।
असूत्रयत् पत्रिषु पारसीकतैलाग्निमेतस्य कृते मनोभूः ॥

(Canto 9 verse 20)

A commentary on the *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, composed c. 1230 A.D. a manuscript of which was discovered at the Jaina Bhaṇḍār at Jaisalmer, explains the expression *Pārasīkatailāgni* as *Pārasīkadeśajavahni* or fire produced (by oil) from Persia. (Benaras ed. of the *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, p. 260).

The poet Bilhaṇa had composed his poem during his stay at the court of Kalyāṇī in South India, the poem being a eulogy of the then ruling prince of the Caulukya dynasty, Vikramāditya Āhavamalla. It is quite likely that the 'Persian Oil' was imported at some of the South Indian ports which had a flourishing trade with Persia, Arabia and other foreign countries, and that the poet was conversant with the properties of this mineral oil imported from Persia.

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3 *Herodotus, the Histories* (Translated by Aubray De Selincourt, the Panguin Classic), p. 277.

4 *The World Book*, p. 309.

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Ācārya Hemacandra (12th century A.D.) in his *Yogaśāstra* (1st *Prakāśa*) has referred to अग्नितैल which is same as mineral oil—

सज्जैरप्यशान्तायां तृष्णायामग्नितैलवत् ।
वापीकूपतडागानि पायं पायमशोषयत् ॥

Dr. P. K. Gode has tried to show that *Turuṣka Taila* mentioned in the *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (earlier than 900 A.D.) is identical with ' Persian oil ' referred to by Bilhaṇa (*Studies in Indian Literary History*, Vol. I, pp. 323-4).

There is a proviso in the said text that this foreign oil—most probably kerosene—can be used for lamps as an alternative to *gavyaghṛta* or clarified butter from cow's milk. In the passage under reference from the *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa* the devotee is asked to carry out the worship of *paṭa* or a sacred piece of cloth with some religious or mystical drawings. He is then to tear off the *paṭa* into numerous shreads, into wicks for a *lakh* (or a hundred thousand) of lamps to be lighted. These lamps may be of gold, silver, copper or earth. They should be filled either with *turuṣka taila* or cow's ghee. This reference clearly shows that mineral oil imported from foreign countries, was used in India as lamp-oil, as it was not against the prescriptions of law-books which prohibited the use of animal fats for the purpose.

But several references in Sanskrit and Prākrit literature show that indigenous mineral oil was available, at least in some quantity, in India even during times earlier than those of the poem *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* and *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, and that it was considered a very rare commodity. I mean the reference to *Marutaila* ('oil from Marwad') in the *Bhāṣya* of Saṅghadāsagaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa, on the *Bṛhat Kalpasūtra*. Author of the *Bhāṣya* in Prākrit, flourished c. 6th cent. A.D., and he is different from Saṅghadāsagaṇi Vācaka, author of the *Vasudeva-Hiṇḍi* (c. 5th cent. A.D.), a voluminous Prākrit Kathā-work.[5] Kṣemakīrti's commentary is in Sanskrit and it was completed in 1442 V.S.—1386 A.D. The following is the relevant extract from the *Bhāṣya* and the commentary containing the reference to *Marutaila*[6]—

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5 Muni Śrī Puṇyavijayaji's Introduction to the *Bṛhat Kalpasūtra*, Vol. VI (Bhavnagar, 1942), pp. 20-23. I have translated the *Vasudeva Hiṇḍi* into Gujarati, Bhavnagar, 1946.

6 I had noted this reference several years back while I was on the staff of the Research Department of the Gujarāt Vidyā Sabhā, Ahmedabad, from 1943 to 1951, and was collecting cultural data from the Jaina Canonical literature. The reference was sent through the Late Shri G. V. Mavlankar, the Speaker of Indian Parliament who was also the President of the Gujarātī Vidyā Sabhā, to the Geological Survey of India in 1950, which they had acknowledged with thanks. Oil and Natural Gas Commission was not established at that time.

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सयपाग सहस्सं वा सयसहस्सं व हंस-मरुतैलं ।
दूराओ वि य असई, परिवासिज्जा जयं धीरे ॥ ६०३ ॥

शतपाकं नाम तैलं तद् उच्यते औषधानां शतेन पच्यते, यद्वा एकेनाप्यौषधेन शतवारान् पक्वम् । एकसहस्रपाकं शतसहस्रपाकं च मन्तव्यम् । हंसपाकं नाम हंसेन-औषधसम्भारभृतेन यत् तैलं पच्यते । मरुतैलं-मरुदेशे पर्वतादुत्पद्यते । एवंविधानि दुर्लभद्रव्याणि प्रथमं तद्दिवसिकानि मार्गणीयानि । अथ दिने दिने न लभ्यन्ते ततः पञ्चकपरिहाण्या चतुर्युरुप्राप्तो दूरादायानीय गीतार्थो 'यतनया' अलाबागारिके स्थाने मदनचीरेण वेष्टयित्वा परिवासयेत् ॥ ६०३१ ॥[7]

While explaining the word *Marutaila* the commentator has clearly stated that it was available on a mountain in Marudeśa. One cannot say very definitely whether it was oil or an oily substance, but the reference noted above suggests that the material was in all probability akin to oil and that it was found in some rocky regions in Rajasthan.[8] The reference should be considered more reliable, because it comes from the pen of two learned Jaina monks--one belonging to c. 6th cent. and other to the 14th century—who used to walk on foot from place to place and noted many curiosities. The references from the *Vikramāṅkādeva-carita*, Hemacandra's *Yogaśāstra* and *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa* as well as from the *Bhāṣya* and commentary on the *Bṛhat Kalpasūtra*, taken together, would seem to support the view that mineral oil--Persian as well as indigenous--was known in

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7 *Bṛhat Kalpasūtra* (ed. by Muni Chaturvijaya and Muni Puṇyavijayaji's Vol. V (Bhavnagar, 1938), p. 1591.

8 It may be noted here that in several other countries also surface occurrences of petroleum have been recorded. "The earliest records of petroleum in North America antedate Columbus, and probably even the Indian. They are contained in the brea or tar pits of Southern California, near where Los Angeles now stands....Other early records of petroleum are found in scattered reports, some legendary and other authenticated, of oil and gas seepages, oil springs, and brea and tar deposits. Some of these were very well known to the Indian and early explorers who often used the material either as a medicine or as a grease for their waggons" (*World Geography of Petroleum*, ed. by Wallace Pratt and Dorothy Good, American Geographical Society, Special Publication, no. 31, Princeton University Press, 1950, p. 130). In the beginning of the second half of the nineteenth century Mr. Samuel M. Kier, an American druggist of considerable enterprise, had bottled the waste oil and sold it as a medicine under the title—Kier's Petroleum or Rock Oil. Celebrated for its Wonderful Curative Power (Ibid). Several American historical novels have described seepages of oil on the surface of the ground in place like back-yard of houses in oil-rich regions of United States.

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India, and that it was also used for medicinal purposes, as a liniment or medicine for massage.[9]

9 There is good reason to think that the ancients were, in some way, aware of mineral oil and natural gas or both more probably through some natural phenomena of which no records have been preserved. Many little things appear to lend corroboration. In the Hindu patheon there is a goddess Jvālāmukhī (' emiting flames from the mouth '); there is famous shrine of this name in the Himachal Pradesh where one witnesses flames of the gas, and the temples of the goddess are to be found all over India, though neither natural gas nor flame is to be seen. There is a street called ' Jvālāmukhī's lane," with a temple at Patan, my home-town in North Gujarat. How, for instance, could we explain the name of the village *Telvā* (lit. ' oil-producing ') near Ankleshwar in Gujarat, which has now proved to be a very rich oil-field? One is tempted to believe that the name *Teliu Tālava* (' oily pond ') of a lake on Mt. Pāvāgaḍh, near Baroda, in Gujarat, is also not without significance.

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SHIP-BUILDING IN YUKTIKALPATARU AND MODERN TIME— A COMPARATIVE STUDY*

By

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Introduction:

This paper attempts to compare the concepts in ship-building as recorded in *Yuktikalpataru* ascribed to Bhoja and in modern times. *Yuktikalpataru* has set certain norms for the construction of ships. It is attempted here to show how far the reasonings herein are valid in the modern time when science has advanced tremendously. This cursory study only shows that the author of this work had seen many good things far ahead with his penetrating vision in time and space which can be proved correct after a lapse of many centuries in the light of modern scientific concepts.

Although the author has dealt with different aspects relating to ship-building, we have attempted here to discuss about three aspects only—the use of wood, the proportion between length and breadth and the use of gold, silver and copper in the body of the ship.

After an elaborate study, Jaggi[1] concludes that *Yuktikalpataru* is the only manual on 'Ship-building' in the whole of very vast and rich Sanskrit literature. The treatise on ship-building forms a concluding part of *Yuktikalpataru*.

Ship-building in Ancient Times

Ship, the vehicle by means of which man conveys himself and his goods by water, is more precisely the larger seaworthy of such vehicles, the smaller and simpler being boats. In modern times, the term usually applied to vessels of over 500 tons that can negotiate in the open seas, as opposed to 'Boat,' a term reserved for smaller craft.

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* Paper read at the Seminar on the Scientific Works of Bhoja at the Vikram University, Ujjain in March 1982.

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1 Jaggi, O. P., *Technology in Ancient India*, Atma Ram and Sons, Delhi, 1984, pp. 188-96.

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The building of ships is one of the oldest occupations of mankind and now it ranks as one of the most important of the world's heavy industries.

Historians are not unanimous in their determination of the birth of ships, but from the evidence it is safe to conclude that man ventured on water before 6000 B.C. probably at first on a log, later on logs tied together. Prehistoric men, however, used primitive tools or fire to hollow out logs to form the earliest displacement vessel, the dug out canoe, still in use in some corners of the earth.

The earliest knowledge of boats and ships comes from Egypt where as early as 4000 B.C. boats were already far advanced from the primitive form which they must have derived in this case probably by a bundle of reeds. Jaggi[2] has reported that according to Dr. Sayee, the famous Assyriologist, the commerce by sea between India and Babylon must have been carried on as early as 3000 B.C. This is proved by the finding of Indian teak in the ruins of United Babylonia.

Propulsion for the earliest craft was by hand or log padding, later by flattened piece of wood, which evolved in the canoe paddle. The sequence of improved technology, improved tools and availability of better materials and fastening methods, resulting in lighter and stronger hulls and more efficient propulsion, was repeated many times in the history of the ship.

Development upto 18th century

The credit goes to Solomon de Caus of France who experimented with steam power to propel boat as early as 1615. However only in 1775 the first steam powered boats to actually run followed James Watt's improvisation of the steam engine.

In Portugal, Henry the navigator (1394-1460) encouraged the building of new types of ships. Portugal's achievements in navigation were due in part to Henry's enlightened policy of experiment and trial and on actual vessels. Ships remained essentially unchanged from the 15th to the 19th century, when a fast new vessels of revolutionary design for minimum water resistance and greater sail area was constructed in North America in 1812.

Developments since 19th century

A more profound revolution in ship-building followed the substitution of steam engines for sails and the substitution of iron for wood in hull construction. Iron in turn, was replaced by steel, with a substantial saving in weight. At the turn of the 20th century, the steam turbine appeared, replacing the conventional reciprocating steam engine.

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2 Jaggi, O. P., *Scientists of Ancient India, and Their Achievements*, Atma Ram and Sons, Delhi, 1984, p. 230.

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In the first decade of the 20th century, the heavy oil engine came into use which was in turn replaced in 1912 by marine diesel engine. From that time onward, the steam turbine and the heavy oil engines enjoyed a keen rivalry which were later joined by the gas turbine and the nuclear power plant.

Ancient Literature on Ship-Building

Mookerji[3] after a detailed study of ancient literature concludes that though Sanskrit and Pali literature abounds in references to the trading voyages of Indians, they unfortunately furnish but few references having a direct bearing on the ships and ship-building of India. The earliest literature he has found is *Yuktikalpataru*, which deals with the art of ship-building, besides other matter. It can be rightly said that this work has given the first lesson in the art of ship-building. It sets forth interesting details about the various sizes and kinds of ships and materials used in their construction. Many of the concepts, if not all, hold good even today, when the disciplines like hydro-kinematics (the study of fluids in motion) and hydrostatics (the study of fluids at rest) have been developed to an advanced stage

Concept on Ship Building as in Yuktikalpataru

The means of transport are classified into three : quadruped (*catuṣpada*), biped (*dvipada*) and footless (*niṣpada*) Quadruped, as the name itself indicates refers to the four-footed animals like elephants, horses, bulls etc. and biped to two-wheeled vehicles like chariots, carts, wagons etc. The last class refers to water-borne traffic, like ships, boats, rafts, floats etc. They are footless, legless or wheelless as the term itself indicates.

There are fifty-five stanzas in the last four or five sections of the *Yuktikalpataru* dealing with water-borne vehicles.

Use of Wood

At that time, all the ships were made up of wood. According to the *Vṛkṣāyurveda* or the Science of Plant life, four different kinds of wood[4] are to be distinguished : They are given below along with their characteristic features :

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3 Mookerji, R, *Indian Shipping*, Longmans Green and Company, London, 1912, pp. 42-46.

4 लघु यत् कोमलं काष्ठं सुघटं ब्रह्मजाति तत् ।
दृढाङ्गं लघु यत् काष्ठमघटं क्षत्रजाति तत् ॥
कोमलं गुरु यत् काष्ठं वैश्यजाति तदुच्यते ।
दृढाङ्गं गुरु यत् काष्ठं शूद्रजाति तदुच्यते ॥
लक्षणद्वययोगेन द्विजातिः काष्ठसङ्ग्रहः ॥ Shastri, Ishvarachandra (ed.) *Yuktikalpataru of Bhoja*, Calakutta, 1917 p. 224, verses 84-85.

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(1) Brāhmaṇa class - Light and soft—Can be easily joined to any other kind of wood

(2) Kṣatriya class—Light and hard—Cannot be j ined on to other classes.

(3) Vaiśya class—Soft and heavy

(4) Śūdra class—Hard and heavy

According to *Yuktikalpataru*,[5] ships built of Kṣatriya class of wood brings wealth and happiness. It considers that ships made of wood of different classes possessing centrary properties are not good and not at all comfortable. Such ships do not last long, soon rot in water and above all, they are liable to split at the slightest shock and to sink down.[6]

Magnetic Effect of Iron

As regards the use of iron in ship-building, the work strongly advocates that no iron should be used in holding or joining together the planks of bottoms of the sea-going vessels, for the simple reason that the iron will inevitably expose them to the influence of magnetic rocks in the sea. Hence the planks of bottoms are to be fitted together by means of substances other than iron.

In reality, the deepest portion of the ocean is deep than the height of the mighty Himālayas i.e., rising to a height of 29,002 ft. or nearly 6 miles. Even if the ship sails in the mid-ocean, the magnetic effect of the rocks lying at the bottom of the ocean can have a very little or no effect at all on the iron used in the ship. Owing to the non-availability of the navigational aids like radar, mostly the ships would have sailed very near the coasts, for the safety of the sailors and travellers, so that in case of accidents, the men can easily reach the shore. Presuming that the ships sailed very near to the shore, the magnetic effect of the ocean rocks lying near the water surface will definetely have an effect on the iron used in the construction of ship as suggested in this work, and eventually endanger men and material in the ship.

In addition to the magnetic effect, another reason for which this work strongly advocated the use of wood in the construction of ships is safety to the person sailing in the ship. If the ship is caught in the midst of a storm and broken into pieces, each and every piece of wood, because of its low density will float in water. This will greatly help the survivor to get hold of the broken pieces of wood and reach the shore safely. If, on the other hand, the ship is entirely made up of iron or alloy of iron, each and every piece of iron or alloy of iron will sink in the water because of their high density i.e. 7.87. The wood, therefore, is of immense help while in tact as well as in broken conditions.

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5 क्षत्रियकाष्ठैर्घटिता भोजमते सुखसंपदं नौका । *Op. Cit.* p. 224. verse 86 a.

6 विभिन्नजातिद्वयकाष्ठजाता न श्रेयसे नापि सुखाय नौका ।
नैषा चिरं तिष्ठति पच्यते च विभिद्यते वारिणि मज्जते च ॥ *Op. Cit.* verse 87

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In olden days people cared for the spiritual values as well as the lives of men and women. Since times have changed, at present profit is the prime motive and the safety of the person is given only secondary importance.

Use of Iron and Steel

With regard to the strength of the ship, experience showed that iron construction was better able to withstand rough usage than wood. In 1834, both iron and wooden ships were stranded together by the same gale and under similar circumstances and the iron ship was fit enough to refloat while the wooden one proved to be a complete wreck.[7]

One of the earliest iron craft on record was a boat apparently intended for passenger service, built on the banks of the Foss River in Yorkshire in 1777. The first iron steamer was the "Aaron Manby" built in 1821 and assembled in London. From 1850 through about 1880, iron was the principal material for ship's hulls. After 1880, steel offered superior ductility and strength to produce lighter and stronger hulls and soon replaced iron.

The steel[8] used in ship construction is mild steel with a 0.15-0.23 % carbon content. The properties required of a good ship building steel are : (1) Reasonable cost, (2) Easily welded with simple technique, (3) Ductility and homogeneity. (4) Yield point to be a high proportion of ultimate tensile strength, (5) Chemical composition suitable for flame cutting without hardening and (6) Resistance to corrosion.

Since 1960 there has been a trend to the use of higher strength steels which permit a saving weight. Naval ships have long used high-tensile steels because of the weight saving which permits greater speed along with increased armament.

Aluminium is used in ship building, particularly where top-side weight saving is important for deck houses, life boats and masts. Magnesium-aluminium alloys are also used in ship building because of their corrosion resistance to sea water and are easily weldable.

Relation between Length and Breadth of the Ships

Yuktikalpataru[9] has given the classification of ships based on their length, breadth and height. The credit for giving specification of length and breadth of the ship goes to this work, because, after a detailed study of hydrokinematics (the study of fluids in motion), hyrdostatics (the study of fluids

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7 *Encyclopaedia Brittanica vol. 20*, William Benton Publisher, Chigago. 1970, pp. 398-414.

8 Taylor, D. A. *Merchant-ship Construction*, Butterworth, London, 1980, p. 198.

9 सामान्यं च विशेषं च नौकायाः लक्षणद्वयम् । *Yuktikalpataru* p 224, verse 89.

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at rest) and other allied subjects in the marine engineering the experts[10] have concluded that breadth of sea-going cargo is from 10 to 20 ft. more than 11% of its length in feet and its depth is approximately one tenth to one-fourteenth the length.

This work has classified the ships into two types (1) Ordinary (*Sāmānya*) ships—used in river traffic and (2) Special (*Viśeṣa*)—only sea going vessels. Of these two, the latter is dealt with here. The special class[11] is further divided into two sub-classes:

(1) *DĪRGHĀ* and (2) *UNNATĀ* They are given below :

I Dīrghā (in cubits) (1 cubit = 20.62")

	Names	*Length*	*Breadth*	*Height*
1	Dīrghikā	32	4	3 1/5
2	Taraṇi	48	6	4 4/5
3	Lolā	64	8	6 2/3
4	Gatvarā	80	10	8
5	Gāminī	96	12	9 2/3
6	Tari	112	14	11 1/5
7	Jaṅghālā	128	16	12 4/5
8	Plāvinī	144	18	14 2/5
9	Dhāriṇī	160	20	16
10	Veginī	176	22	17 3/5
II	Unnatā			
1	Ūrddhvā	32	16	16
2	Anūrddhvā	48	24	24
3	Svarṇamukhī	64	32	32
4	Garbhiṇī	80	40	40
5	Mantharā	96	48	48

Although the above formula given in the *Yuktikalpataru* does not agree with the formula given in the marine engineering texts, we may point out that there is some sort of proportion between the length and breadth in the two classes of ships as noted from the *Yuktikalpataru*.

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10 *McGraw Hill Encyclopedia, Science and Technology* Vol. 12 Mc Graw Hill Book Company. Inc, Newyork, 1960, pp. 255-62.

11 मन्थरा परतो यास्तु तासामेवाम्बुधौ गतिः । *Yuktikalpataru* p. 225, verse 95a

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Use of Gold, Silver and Copper

Besides wood, *Yuktikalpataru*[12] has recommended the use of gold, silver and copper in the construction of ship. The selection of these three elements in the construction of ship warrants reasoning.

Corrosion is the wasting of metals by chemical or electrochemical reaction with their surroundings. Iron and steel corrode in an attempt to regain their oxide form which is in a balanced state with the earth's atmosphere. The presence of a ship almost constantly in sea water enables an electrochemical reaction to take place on unprotected steel surfaces. A corrosion cell is said to have been formed. This is referred to as a 'galvanic cell' since its current flow is a result of potential difference between two metals in a solution such as sea water. This current flow results in metal being removed from the anode metal or positive electrode, while the cathodic metal or negative electrode is protected from corrosion. Most of the metals can be arranged in what is known as a galvanic series.

Galvanic Series of Metals and Alloys in Sea Water[13] :

Cathodic or noble metals (protected material)	Platinum, Gold, Graphite, Silver, Copper-nickel alloys, Bronze, Gun metal, Copper metal, Copper, Brass
	Tin, Lead, Cast iron, Aluminium alloys, Cadmium, Aluminium, Zinc
Anodic or ignoble metals (corroding meterial)	Magnesium alloys
	Magnesium.

Since gold, silver and copper are cathodic metals, they are not corroded. The study of metals, with special reference to their electro-chemical potentials and their tabulation based on their corrodability was done of late. Probably the author had realized this unique feature in these three metals and hence he might have recommended them in ship-building for this reason. This vividly shows that *Yuktikalpataru* not only contains the view of an expert Naval Architect but an expert matallurgist as well. Even though the theory of electricity is known to us only for the past two centuries, the author of the work had a vision and had sensed the importance of these three metals even before.

Accommodation Aspects

This work very wisely gave us not only details about the exterior design like the proportion of length and breadth but also gave us a choice of suitable

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12 चात्वादीनामयो वक्ष्ये निर्णयं तत्रिसंश्रयम् ।
कनकं रजतं ताम्रं त्रितयं वा यथाक्रमम् ॥ *Yuktikalpataru* p. 227, verse 109

13 Taylor, D. A. *ibid.* p. 205.

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materials of construction like gold, silver and copper. This work went further and gave us even the allocation and disposition of the various living quarters within the ship. It had considered even minute details like the position and proportion of servant quarters too. This shows the immense knowledge of not on'y hu!l design but interior design as well as decoration possessed by the author of the *Yuktikalpataru*.

Conclusion

All these reasonings point out that the *Yuktikalpataru* was able to foresee things which could be found true in the light of sunsequent scientific developments.

The *Yuktikalpataru* not only throws light on ship-building, but also shows that the author had mastered Architecture, Lapidary, Iconography, Botany, Medicine, Equinology to name a few disciplines.

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"SĀMANTA AS A FEUDAL LORD IN EARLY INDIA (FROM MAURYAS TO 650 A.D.")

By

GIAN CHAUHAN*

The term Sāmanta meant an independent neighbour in Arthaśāstra,[1] Manu Smṛti[2] and Yājñavalkya Smṛti,[3] in the sense of those important personages, in the vicinity with whose help the boundary disputes of the villages were settled. In Kātyāyana[4] Śrauta sūtra the term Sāmanta is an adjective and means 'being on all sides' (neighbouring) or bordering. In earlier work we find it used in this sense. It occurs in connection with the ruler on boundary dispute.[5] Almost all these rules require boundary dispute to be decided in the first instance by the Sāmanta. But the term Sāmanta should be translated as independent noble, not as a king,[6] and study of the inscription of Asoka[7] shows that Sāmanta means a neighbouring king. *Sanskrit-English Dictionary. Cognate Indo-European Language* by Sir Monier Monier-Williams (Delhi, 1970; Ist Indian Ed. p., 1205) and *The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, by V. S. Apte (Bombay, 1924. 3rd Ed. Revised and Enlarged, p. 981) state that the term Sāmanta (Sām-anta) means, a vassal, feudatory, a neighbouring king and a tributary prince. Whatever its meaning might be, but Sāmanta must have been an influential and important person, who was asked to decide boundary dispute. He might have got political power and it is not unfair to call him Feudal Lord and his right to decide a boundary dispute arose out of his ownership of land.

Lallanji Gopal states that with the passage of time the term Sāmanta had undergone a change of meaning, and indicated a state of sub-ordination.[9] Thus by the process of association the term Sāmanta, which originally meant a neighbouring king, had come to be applied to those neighbouring kings who had been made subordinate.[10] There are facts, however which show that the Sāmantas were not petty nobles but rulers of considerable importance in their respective regions, and terms indicating rulership are seen.[11] Instances of grants of villages and reveace by Sāmanta, a royal prerogative, make it clear that Sāmantas when making such grants exercised their rights as rulers. It appears that when rulers were defeated and made Sāmantas or subordinate kings their right to rule over their particular territories was not taken—from them they retained all their rights,

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powers and function as kings; only with the difference that they had to acknowledge the suzerainty of the overlord.[12] Bigger Sāmantas appear to have had their own Sāmantas.[13] The smaller Sāmanta was subordinate to a bigger one who in his turn accepted the suzerainty of the emperor.[14] And Agni Purana states that Sāmantas are to be as enemies.[15] R. S. Sharma states that in post-Maurya law books it was used in the sense of a neighbouring proprietor of land, and not in the sense of a feudal lord as has been made out in a recent work.[16] Similarly there is no evidence for the view that Manu provides for the collection of the share of produce, taxes, fine, etc., by the Sāmanta and not by the ruler of the country.[17] It seems that as early as the third quarter of the 5th century A.D. the term Sāmanta was used in sense of vassal in South India, Sāmanta-Cūdāmaṇayaḥ mentioned in a Pallava, inscription of the time of Sāntivarman.[18] In North India the earliest use of the term in a similar sense seems to have been in a Bengal inscription, and Barabar Hill Cave Inscription of the Maukhari Chief Anatavarman, in which his father is described as Sāmanta—Cūdāmaṇiḥ.[19] The date of Anatavarmaṅś father may be put round about A.D. 500, when the Maukharis were the Sāmantas of the Imperial Gupta, and important mention of the term Sāmanta is found in the Mandasor stone pillar inscription of Yaśodharman in which he claims to have subjugated the Sāmantas or feudatories in the whole of the Northern India.[20] The term Sāmanta is not used for the feudatories of Samudra Gupta, but their obligations are clearly set forth in the Allahabad Inscription, which shows that in return for being reinstated on their thrones the conquered and subjugated princes were expected to pay all tributes, to carry out royal orders, to give their daughters in marriage, and to render homage to the conqueror. It seems that there might have been some feudal obligations on Sāmanta or subjugated princes. R. C. Majumdar remarks "The Gupta emperors did not directly administer the whole country which was formally included within the empire. There were feudal chiefs, referred to as Mahāsāmantas who assumed the title of Mahārāja."[22] During the 6th century A D. the rulers of Valabhi had the title Sāmanta Mahārāja and Māhāsāmanta Mahārāja[23] Vaingupta had two vassals under him namely Padadāsa mahārāja Rudradatta and Mahārāja Mahāsāmanta Vijayasena.[24] In Assam Harjjaravarman had under him Senādhyakṣa Suchitta as his Mahāsāmanta. Śaśāika himself was the Sāmanta of Rohtasgarh before he became an independent ruler. Maharaja mahāsāmanta Sri Madhava Raja II of Sailodabhava dynasty ruling over Kongoda was a feudatory of Śāśanka in A.D. 619. There are records showing the pre-Pāla rulers of Bengal such as that Samacharadeva and Jayanatha had several Sāmantas under them,[25] the early Pāla rulers had numerous Sāmantaṣ who assembled at the imperial court.

The Haracsarita and the Kādambrī of Bāṇa give the idea of the obligations of the Sāmanta. The Kādambrī mentions five modes of saluting the king

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by the defeated kings, who were certainly reduced to the position of Sāmantas. These included salute by bowing the head and touching the feet of the emperor, taking the dust from the head, as is mentioned in Harṣachrita, and finally placing the head on the earth near the feet of emperor.[26] How a Sāmanta paid homage to the emperor in person is graphically discribed by Baṇa, he states that the defeated Mahāsāmanta greeted the conqqueror by removing the crown and headdress. They were subjected to various kinds of humiliation in the court of Harṣa. Some served as the bearers of fans, others prayed for life lying a sword to their necks, and still others, deprived of all their possessions were always eager to salute their emperor with folded hands, and allowed their beard to grow till their fate was finally decided by the conqueror.[27] The defeated kings, releagated to the position of Sāmanta, were made to render three kinds of services to the king in the court. They held chowries, as the conquered hostile vassal chiefs did in the court of Harṣa.[28] They served as door-keepers in the court by holding a rod of cane in the hand.[29] And they served as recitors of the auspicious words uttering success.[30] According to Baṇa the defeated Sāmanta furnished his minor son to the conqueror. Probably he was to be trained in the imperial tradition, so that he might grow loyal to his overlord. When in the Thaneser Court the two brothers Mādhavagupta and Kumārgupta were formally introduced by Prabhakaravardhana, the two brothers saying " As Your Majesty Commands ", rose from their seats and saluted Rājyavardhana and Harṣa by swaying their heads again and again to the earth.[31] The two Gupta brothers were regarded as feudatories in the Thaneser Court, and Bhaṇḍi who served as the commander of the Thaneser cavalry force, was the son of a Sāmanta chief.[32] D. Devahuti states that it is possible that the complex working of the typically Indian Sāmanta institution confused the Chinese observer. As noted many important administrative officers of the state were subordinated Sāmantas who had their own territorial possessions, income from which under the changed circumstances may have been considered as their salary for the adminirtative duties they performed for the state. The majority, of course, were not thus employed and paid their share to the centre in other forms, such as regular or periodic gifts of gold, valuable commodities, elephants, military help for him in time of war, or hostages who served as courtiers.[33] Some may have enjoyed cultivator's rights over their land and paid the regular one-sixth of the produce in the form of tax to the state. Thus while allowing the Sāmantas to enjoy their high status Harṣa may also have safeguarded the interests of the treasury. As for creating new Sāmantas Harṣa may not only have bestowed the honorific title to raise the prestige of some of his important cash-salaried officials but may also have used land or land tax instead of cash as the mode of payment to bring some officers in line with the real Sāmantas.[34]

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On the occasion of the installation of Yásovati as Chief queen, the wives of Sāmantas consecrated with water from golden pitchers and thus offered her their services.[35] This, however appears as an obligation to be carried out in time of peace. But, by and large, the obligations of the vassals known from Baṇa relate to the defeated chiefs called Śatru-mahāsāmanta, required to serve the conqueror in various ways in consequence of their being defeated.[36] Whether the Sāmanta has any administrative or feaudal functions to perform in times of peace is stated neihter in the law books nor in the Harṣacarita. However, we learn that on the advice of the Pradhāna-sāmanta, whose voice could not be disregarded, Rājyavardhana took food when he was afflicted with grief on the loss of his sister Rājyaśrī.[37] Some Sāmantas made religious grants without reference to their overlord. One of the earliest examples is the Vappaghoṣavaṭa grant of Jayanāga, who ruled in the latter half of the 6th century with his headquarters at Karṇasuvarṇaka in the District of Murshidabad, and in the first half of the seventh century A.D. the Sāmanta Induarāja granted a village to a Brāhmaṇa in Madhya Pradesh,[38] apparently without reference to his overlord who is not mentioned by him.

It seems that the Sāmantas living in the court had to carry out certain social obligations. They took part in various amusements such as gambling, dice-playing, playing on the flute, drawing portraits of the kings, solving puzzles etc.[39] Similarly their wives also had to attend the court on festive occasions.[40] Thus the vassals were not linked with the lord only martially and administratively but also socially. Baṇa[41] speaks of six types of sāmantas, viz. Sāmanta, Mahāsāmanta Āptasamanta, Pratisāmanta. Of these the Mahāsamānta was obviously a step higher than the Sāmanta and Śatrusāmanta was a conquered enemy chief. Āptasamantas were probably those who willingly accepted the vassalage of the overlord. Pradhānsāmantas were the most trusted hands of the emperor, who never disregarded their advice, but it is difficult to make anything out of the term Pratisāmanta; probably he was a vassal opposed to the king or merely a hostile vassal. The Sāmanta used to accompany the emperors in his war. Rājyavardhana, when he went to meet the Huṇas, is said to have been attended by his devoted Sāmanta.[42] In the Dásakumāracarita we find the Sāmantas of Vidarbha, who lay in the Vākāṭaka area, collected money and army when their emperor got entranged in war.[43] It seems that Harṣa's army was made up of the troops—men and horse—supplied by the vassal rājās. At the time of march their number was so huge that it amazed him.[44] The only probable explanation of such a huge army seems to be that this was a feudal militia, mustered only in time of war and not a standing army. Kādambrī states that Chandrāpiḍa was helped by the Sāmantas during the war with everyhing they possessed.[45] The Harṣacarita states that after the death of Prabhākarvardhana the Sāmantas prevailed on Rājyavardhana to accept the throne.[46] But it is not clear whether it includes all the Sāmantas or only those staying at the court of Thaneser.

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Whatever varying meaning of the term Sāmanta might be in earlier law-books, contemporary literature and inscriptions, Sāmanta must have been an influential and important person, who was pertaining to decide boundary disputes in law-books. He might have got some political power. In the beginning the term might not be used for feudal lord or it came to be known as such with the passage of time. This originated because of the habit of suzerain to have many feudal lords under him. So, by long survey of early law-books, contemporary literature and inscriptions, we come to the conclusion that in later period the term Sāmanta meant feudal lords.

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SOME INTERESTING OBSERVATIONS ON THE COINS OF GUJARAT SULTAN MAHMUD SHAH (I)

By

LILY SHRIVASTAVA*

In the Museum of the Dept. of Arch. & Anc. History of the M. S. University of Baroda, there are a few muslim coins donated by one of the Forest Officers of Baroda. Among them eight are of one[1] type and three of another type.[2] But both varieties belong to Mahmud Shah I, who ruled from 1458 A.D. to 1511 A.D. in Gujarat,[3] as a very powerful and benevolent Sultan. (I am deeply obliged and thankful to Prof. K. T. M. Hegde, the Head of the Dept., who gave me permission and opportunity to study these coins and write this paper).

Mahmud Shah (I) was the son of Muhamad Shah, and grandson of Ahmad Shah. According to the records of "Firishta," and on the basis of the legends and dates found on the coins of Sultans of Gujarat, Dr. P. G. Taylor (in *J.R.A.S. of Bombay branch* Vol. XX-1902) and Wright H. Nelson (*Cat of the Coins of Calcutta Museum*—Vol. II, Pt. II, 1972) have given a detailed history of all the Sultans. It is well-known that after the conquest by Allaudin Khilji[4] (1298 A.D.), Gujarat remained continuously under the sway of muslim rulers of Delhi,[5] but in between for about two hundred years, after the death of Muhamad-bin-Tughlaq[6] (1351 A.D.) (when Delhi was busy in its internal strife and facing the attacks of Timurlang), Gujarat became totally independent and had its own autonomous rule.[7]

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1 See pl, I-III, Coin Nos. 1-8.

2 See pl. IV—Coin Nos. 9-11.

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The first ruler—who utilized autonomous power of administration was Zafar-Khan. He was the son of Waji-al-Mulk. Waji-al-Mulk was, by birth a Hindu Rajput of "Tanka"—family—who married his sister to Firoz-Shah (1351 A.D.–1389 A.D.) (Nephew and successor of Muhamad-bin-Tughlaq). During the time of Muhamad-Shah III (1389-1392 A.D.—the successor of Firoz-Shah), this Zafar-Khan was appointed as Viceroy of Gujarat, in 1391 A.D. (just to punish Mufarrah-Sultan—who was favouring Hindus). According to the records of Firishta-when he was leaving for Gujarat—being the nephew of the queen, he was given a royal send-off. Not only royal dress and canopy were given to him, but the title of "Muzaffar-Khan" was also given to him. Fortunately, he was successful in defeating Mufarrah-Sultan at the village of "Kambhu" in the district of Anhilwad near Patan (capital of Gujarat) and because of this success, whole of Gujarat accepted his authority as an administrator. He was quite faithful to the Sultan of Delhi, but at Delhi, (because of disturbances) as no one was issuing coins, with the consent of his nobles, in 1407 A.D., he started issuing his own coins for the ease of commercial activities, by assuming the title of Shams-al-din.

His son Tatar-Khan (Muhamad I) was very ambitious. He did not like his father's attitude of subordination. He imprisoned his father, and declared himself as an independent ruler (in 1403 A.D.) by assuming various—titles like "Nasir-Al-Dunya, Wā-al-Din," "Muhamad Shah" or "Ghiyath-al-dunya, Wa-al-din." Zafar-Khan had a brother "Shams-Khan." He helped him, to be released from the prison, and killed Tatar-Khan (his nephew) by giving poison. Zafar-Khan again became ruler. He tried to give royalty to his brother as a reward—for saving his life, but when he refused to take anything, he nominated his grandson "Ahmed-Shah (I)" (son of Tatar-Khan) as his successor.

Ahmad Shah was very young (14 years), but he proved very powerful. Not only he asked his grandfather to take poison as a penance for killing his son, or suppressed the revolts of kolis at Patan, but led military campaigns against Junagarh, Champaner, Idar (Ahmadnagar near Himmatnagar) and Malwa. He laid the foundations of Ahmedabad in 1411 A.D. and of Ahmadnagar in 1429 A.D. as royal cities. These cities were called "Shahr-Muazzam" (great city) and "Shahr-Mahanur" (city of light), from where the administration was done and coins were issued for the entire kingdom. He gave such a strong hold and good administration to Gujarat that it not only became a prosperous country but also remained as an independent country for two hundred years. After him, his (Gujarat) Sultanat is called "Ahmad-Shahis" reminding him as the founder of greatness of Gujarat Sultanat. He assumed the title of "Nasir-al-dunya, Wa-al-din, Abu-Al-fatha-Ahmad-Shah," which shows that he was considered as the most powerful Sultan.

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This Ahmad Shah was succeeded by his son " Muhamad-Shah " (Giyath-al-dunya, Wa-al-din). Muhamad Shah was very liberal and generous (just the opposite of his father). He was called " *Zar-Baksha* " (giver of gold) and was given the title of *Karim*, (merciful). These may be good qualities for a man, but (being the Sultan) on account of them, he was exploited by his own son, and wife and he not only lost many territories from his empire, but also lost his life. After him, his son " Jalal-Khan " with title " Qutb-al-dunya, Wa-al-din, " Ahmed-Shah (II) " succeeded him in 1451 A.D. who ruled up to 1458 A.D. " Jalal-Khan " was succeeded by his uncle " Daud ", but " Daud " could rule only for seven days and was overthrown by " Mahmud I ". " Mahmud I " was the brother of " Jalal-Khan " and the nephew of " Daud ". He succeeded the throne—by using his legitimate right of son or by force—this is not known, but he was very powerful ruler.

He (Mahmud Shah I) ruled for quite a long time from 1458 A.D. to 1511 A.D. and is considered as the most celebrated Sultan of Gujarat. He, not only restored the lost power and prestige of his grandfather (Ahmed Shah), (which suffered during the time of Muhamad Shah) but according to " *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* ", he did a lot for the prosperity of his kingdom and well—being of his people. He built many magnificent caravan sarais, lodging houses (for travellers), colleges and mosques, and founded the celebrated cities of Mustafabad (called as *Shahr-Azam* = very great city in 1479 A.D.) and Mahmudabad-18 Km. from Ahmedabad towards South East, as his residence. He is also called " *Begaḍā* " (The conqueror of Two forts) as he captured the forts of Champaner and Junagarh.[8] After him, till Gujarat was conquered by Akbar in 1573 A.D.[9], there were many Sultans like Muzaffar Shah II, Sikandar Shah, Mahmud-Shah II, Bahadur, Muhamad Shah III, Ahmad III and Muzaffar Shah III as is given in the following geneological table[10] with their titles and dates. But no one can be compared to him or could be proved greater than him.

" Mahmud Shah " (I) had issued various types of coins. In my collection, in all they are eleven. All these coins are of silver, round in shape and legends are written in Arabic script. The difference in size and weight, may indicate that these were of two denominations.—One having 0.7" diameter weighing

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8 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Ch. V, P. 47 f.; Bayley Ch. VIII, P. 161, Taylor P. G. : *J.R.A.S. Bombay Branch*—Vol. XX, 1902, P. 293.

9 *Ibid.*, Vol. I–XXXVIII, P. 506 f; Ch. XXXIX, P. 520, Vol. II, Ch. I, P. 1 f.

10 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, P. 564-5; Wright H. Nelson-Vol. II, Pt. I "Introduction"; Taylor P. G. : *J.R.A.S.* (*Bombay branch*), Vol. XX, P. 303-4; 1902.

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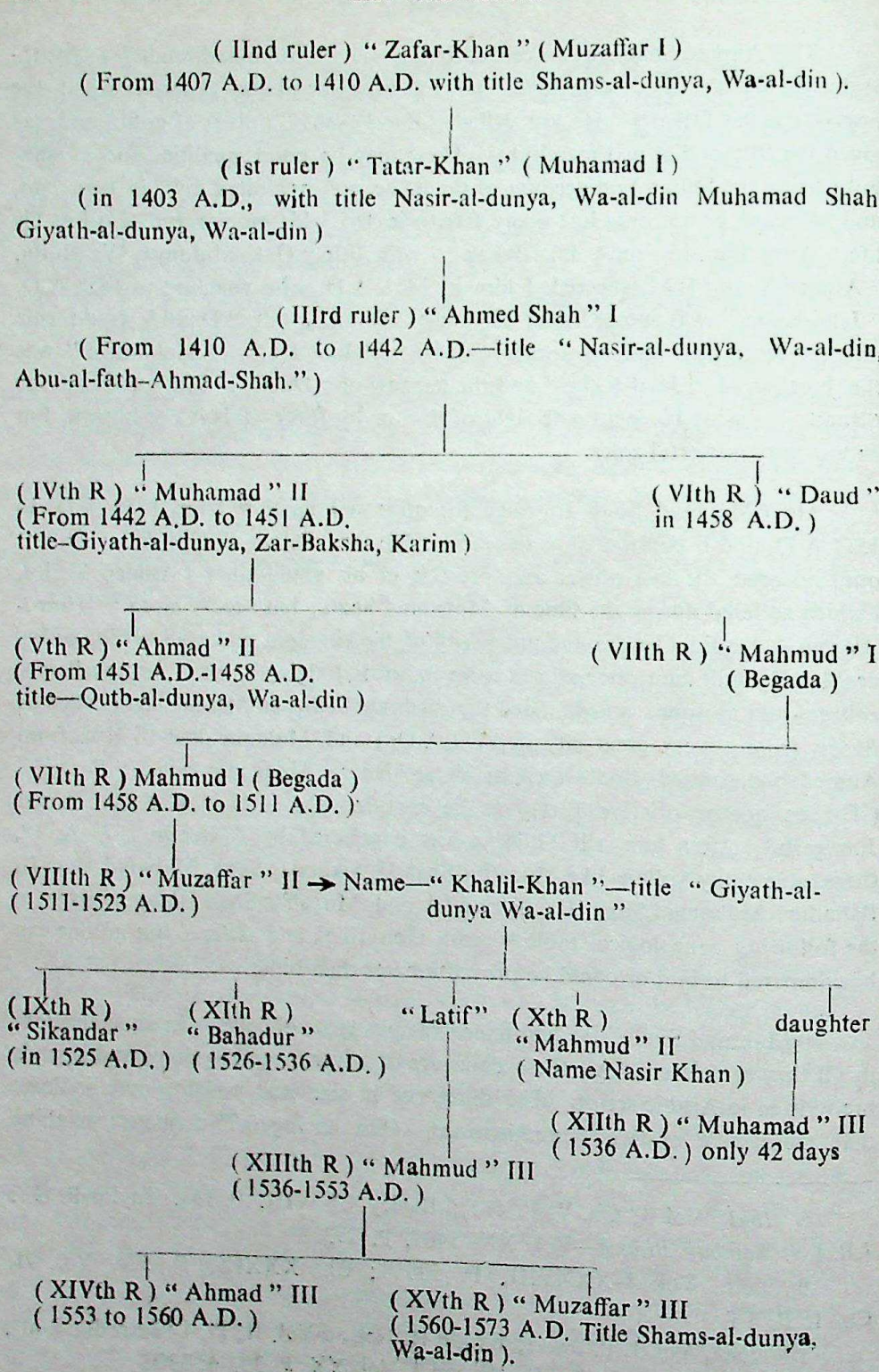

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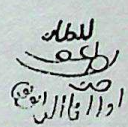
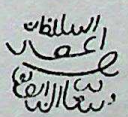
approximately 5.5 grams as an average weight and the other having 0.5″ diameter weighing 2 5 grams approximately as an average weight.[11]

Among these, eight coins belonged to Champaner– as its name (Mahamudabad Urf Champaner-Shahr-Mukarrum) is found inscribed on obverse side of the coin-on its margin.[12] The other three don't have any name of any place,[13] hence we can't say definitely to which mint they belonged. In the following table, the description of the coins is given.

Champaner Coins

Coin No.	Metal	Shape	Size	Wt. in gms.	Ob. design & legend	Re. design & legend
1	Silver	Round	.6″	5.534	In square □ on half upper part- Al-Sultan السلطا divided by two horizontal lines below " Mahmud-Shah " محمود صہ on top of the margin "Mu" (مو) is visible	1st line-Al-Sultan, 2nd line-Ali Azam below—Nasir-ud-dunya, Wa-al-din Abu-Al-Fath 
2	Silver	Round	.7″	5.232	Ob. in square in upper line Al-Sultan (السلطا) below— " Mahmud-Shah " محمود صہ below the square Date ۸۹۴ (894)	
3	Silver	Round	.7″	5.758	In double-lined square Al-Sultan Mahmud Shah on Margin—from left Muhamadabad below–894 A.H. ۸۹۴ (محمد اباد)	1st line Al-Sultan, 2nd line Ali-Azam below—Nasir-ud-dunya Wa-al-din Abu-Al-Fath

11 See following table.

12 See Pl. No. II, III, Coin No. 4-7.

13 See Pl. No. IV; Coin No. 9-11.

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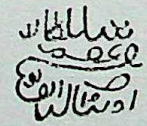
Coin No.	Metal	Shape	Size	Wt. in gms.	Ob. design & legend	Re. design & legend
4	Silver	Round	.7"	5.589	Inside star having 8 spokes Al-Sutan Mahmud Shah on margin—from left Muhamadabad Urf Champaner-Shahr-Mukrram (محمد اباد عوق حانپازیر سهر مکرم)	do
5	Silver	Round	.7"	5 604	Inside the same star Al-Sultan Mahmud Shah on margin from left Muhamadabad Urf Champaner-Shahr Mukarram below—date ۸۹۴ A.H. (894)	do
6	Silver	Round	.6"	5.508	In Hexagonal design Mahmud Shah Alsultan on margin from left Champaner Shahr-Mukarrm (حانپازیر سهر مکرم)	
7	Silver	Round	.7"	5.403	In same Hexagonal design " Mahmud Shah " Alsultan on top of margin Muhmadabad (محمد اباد)	
8	Silver	Round	.5"	27.8	In designed square Alsultan Mahmud-Shah on margin from left below—Muhamadabad right side—below date 904 ۹۰۴	

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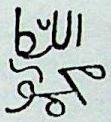
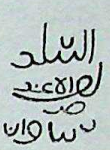
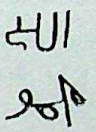
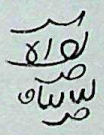
Ahmedabad Coins

Coin No.	Metal	Specific gravity	Shape	Size	Wt.	Ob. design & legend	Re. design & legend
9	Silver	10.3	Round	.7″	5.645	In square having peaked sides Al-Sultan Shah Mahmud	Al-Sultan Ali-Azam Nasir-wa-al-dunya Wa-al-din-Abu Al-Fath
10	Silver	10.3	Round	.6″	5.657		
11	Silver	8.8	Round	.5″	2.681		

According to above descriptions it seems that the last three coins of later variety must be the coins of regular currency. They must have been subsequently issued from Ahmedabad (which was the royal minting centre, since the time of its foundation by Ahmad-Shah I). This is because the legends written on these coins are written in a simple manner devoid of any ornamentation and the name of any place has not been mentioned.[14] But the script on the first eight coins (specially on reverse side) is quite decorative and ornamental.[15] And on obverse side on the margin the words " Mahmudabad " Urf (alias) " Champaner " is given. Also on three coins very clearly same date " 894 " AH is written.[16] Hence it seems that these coins were issued in 894 AH (= AD 1494) from Champaner as their minting place. And this (Champaner) was given a new name of Muhamadabad by Mahmud-Shah I (issuer of the coins). Now the question arises—why Mahmud-Shah named Champaner as " Muhamadabad " after the name of his father? It seems that originally Champaner was conquered

14 See Pl. No. IV; 9, 10, 11.

15 See Pl. No. IV; 9.

16 See Pl. No. I, II, Coin No. 2, 3 & 5.

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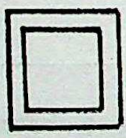
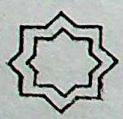
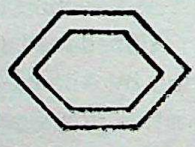
by Ahmad-Shah I[17] (Grand-father of Mahmud-Shah) but during the time of Muhamad-Shah it was lost. Hence Mahmud Shah had to recapture it and as he recaptured it around 894 AH. as a commemoration of his Victory—he issued these coins and named it (Champaner) as " Muhamadabad " just to perpetuate the glorious memory of his father and also of his grandfather by giving his imperial titles on the reverse side in a decorative manner.[18]

Not only this, but as the epithet " Shahr-Makarrum (illustrious city) is also given to this city, it seems that Mahmud-Shah lived[19] there also for some-time, and made it a royal city by constructing beautiful buildings, market, places, gardens and groves.

This conjecture can be confirmed by the records of " Firishta "—who clearly mention that some Rajput king " Raval Jaisingh " declared himself independent & occupied Champaner, hence to punish him, Mahmud Shah came via Baroda[20] to Champaner. Further-more, he has written that Champaner was such a big trading centre that all sorts of articles like silk, muslins, precious stones etc. were seen in its market and people from different countries used to assemble there for purchasing those articles.

Similarly, when we see the style and design of Champaner coins, which differ from others, we find that on obverse side, the name of Sultan is given inside a designed enclosure. It is sometime square[21] (), double lined[22] square (), Hexagonal[23] (), or star-shaped[24] having eight peaks ( ). Below the name, on the

17 *Hist. of Gujarat*, Vol. I, Ch. VIII, P. 81-82, Bayley-Ch. IV P. 98, 102 f.
18 See Pl. No. I, II, III; 1-8.
19 *Arabic History of Guj.*, I, 31. quoted in the *Hist. of Guj.*, Ch. XV, P. 197.
20 *History of Gujarat*, I, Ch. XV, P. 197.
21 Pl. I; Coin No. 2.
22 Pl. I; Coin No. 1, 3.
23 Pl. II, III; 6, 7.
24 Pl. II, III; 4-5, 8.

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margin,[25] the date in Hijri era is given and around the margin from left side mostly (in anti-clock-wise-direction), the name and epithet of the minting place (Muhamadabad Urf Champaner-Shahr Mukarrum[26] i.e. illustrious city) is given. On reverse side in Naksh-style (making alphabets vertically elongated), the Title of Mahmud-Shah's (issuer of the coin) grandfather " Al-Sultan Ali-Azam-Nasir-ud-dunya-Wa-al-din-Abu Al-Fath," is given.[27] This style (of writing the name of issuing Sultan inside a designed enclosure and giving the name of minting place around the margin on obverse side or giving the name and epithet of father on reverse side) might have been adopted from the coins of " Turkistan," as merchants and travellers from Turkistan[29] might be coming to this place, (on the footsteps of Mahmud of Gazani or Muhamad Ghori to get its Sharp edged swords, Sandal woods goods, muslins and silks etc. (which were produced there in abundance and of unique designs). So, it seems that just to develop the trade and commerce with them, same type of coins were also issued by Mahmud Shah. Or as another suggestion-it is also possible that the artists of Turkistan were available to him on inter-exchange basis, thus—he might have called them and asked them to design the special type of coins to be issued from Champaner as a commemoration of his victory—when it was conquered—because when we see the coins of Babar,[29] the founder of Mughal empire, we find the same style and design of writing the name of minting places on obverse side of coin-around the margin surrounding the name of Babar (Zahirud-din Babar) and on reverse side the name titles etc. Babar came from " Turkistan " but could have hardly come to Gujarat.[30] So we can't definitely say that he had copied the style of the coins of Mahmud-Shah. Thus Dr. Rodgers had opined that after the design of the coins of king " Rukh " of Turkistan,[31] Babar had issued his coins. But Babar became emperor of Hindustan in 1527 A.D. (after the battle of Kanwaha) and ruled from 1525 A.D. to 1530 A.D.[32] Whereas Mahmud-Shah (I) ruled from 1458 A.D. to 1511 A.D.[33] i.e. some years before him, thus it is also plausible that Babar might have issued coins after the pattern of Mahmud—Shah's coins because Mahmud-Shah's coins were popularly known upto the

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25 Pl. I, II; 2, 3, 5.

26 Pl. II; 5, 7.

27 Pl. III; 1-8.

28 Taylor P. G. : *J.R.A.S.* (*Bombay Branch*), Vol. XX, P. 292, *Hist. of Gujarat*, Vol. I, Ch. XV, P. 200.

29 Wright, H. Nelson : *The coins of the Mughal rulers* " Preface ".

30 Kundra, D. N. : *Hist. of India*, Pt. II; Section II, P. 6 f.

31 Rodgers : *Coins of Mughal rulers*, " Preface ".

32 Kundra, D. N. : *Hist. of India*, Pt. II, Ch. I P. 1 f.

33 *Hist. of Gujarat*, Vol. II, Ch. XV, P. 162.

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time of Akbar, and Shahjahan and were not only quite artistic but were well-recognised by the people of India. Therefore, when he became emperor of India—for his Indian subjects, he must have followed the same popular design.

There is one reference that the coins of Mahmud Shah known as " Mahmudis " were so abundant in circulation that a mint was made at Junagarh by Shahjahan for melting them.[34] In the same way for Jains of Jamnagar—it is said that—from Mazaffar Shah III (contemporary of Akbar) they asked permission to issue new coins (Koris). The permission was granted but on condition that they will be called " Mahmudies " by their old name, and the name of Muzaffar Shah will be inscribed on them.[35] This shows that up to the time of Akbar and Shahjahan the coins of Mahmud-Shah were quite popular. Thus it is plausible that Mughal coins were issued after the pattern of Mahmud-Shah's coins. It may be that originally Mahmud-Shah had adopted the pattern of his coins from Turkistan with a view to promoting commercial relations and trade witht hem, by importing Turkistani—Craftsmen, as merchants from Turkestan were coming to his kingdom for transacting their goods.

The legends on Champaner coins are written by making the alphabets vertically-elongated[36] (as pointed out earlier) so that they occupy less space and can be adjusted in any shape. This form of alphabets might have been made as the legends were quite lengthy. But they look quite decorative and ornamental. Thus it is also possible that the art of calliography (which became very popular during Mughal period for writing the Ayatas of kuran on monumental buildings) must have developed since the time of these legends, written on these coins, because the " Ayatas of Kuran " were considered very sacred and were written as a speciality to decorate the building.

To sum up, it can be said that though Mahmud Shah (I) had issued many coins-having different types but the coins issued from Champaner had some speciality, and were one of the most beautiful coins among the series of Muslim Coins. The photographs of these coins are given in the attached plates.

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34 *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Ch. X, P. 121.
35 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Ch. XXXVII, P. 499.
36 Pl. III; Coin No. 1-8.

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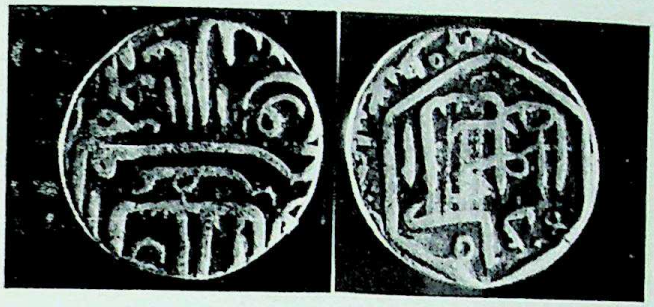
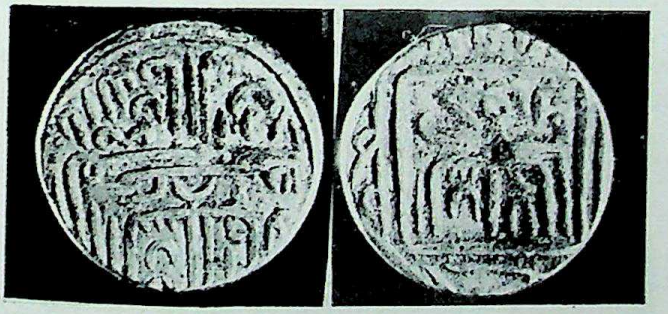


Coin No. 3. Ob. Coin No. 3. Re.

Plate No. I

Champaner-Coins of Mahmud Shah (I)



Coin No. 6. Ob. Coin. No. 6. Re.

Plate No. II

Champaner-Coins of Mahmud Shah (I)

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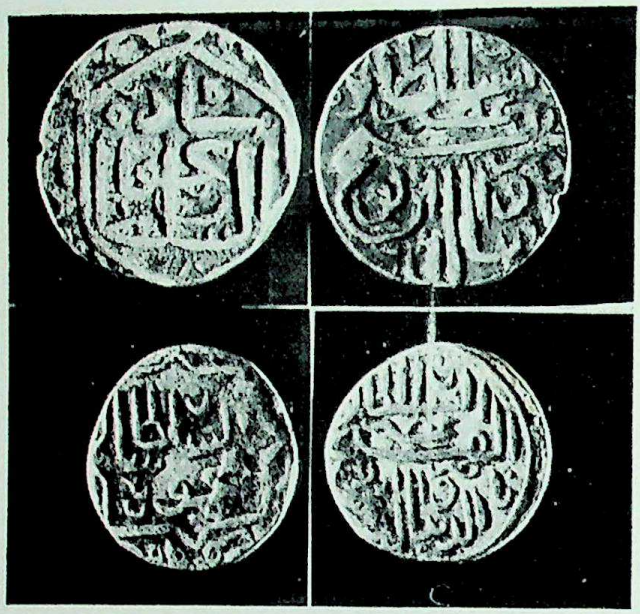
Coin No. 7. Ob. Coin No. 7. Re.



Coin No. 8. Ob. Coin No. 8. Re.

Plate No. III
Champaner-Coins of Mahmud Shah (I)

Coin No. 11. Ob. Coin No. 11. Re.

Plate No. IV
Coins of Mahmud Shah (I) from Ahmedabad

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REVIEWS

The Narasiṁha-Purāṇa: A Study by Dr. Siddheswar Jena, published by Nag Publishers, Delhi, 110007, Price Rs. 150/-. pp. x + 323 + xii.

In recent times there has been a change in attitude towards Purāṇic studies, which have now come to enjoy a respectable position. There is now an increase of publications of individual Purāṇas and works on Purāṇas. There is also a specialised journal devoted to Purāṇic studies, *viz.* "Purāṇa"—Bulletin published by the All-India Kashiraj Trust, Varanasi. It is gratifying that in India, Oriental Institute, Baroda, B. J. Institute of Learning and Research, Ahmedabad and Purāṇa Department, All-India Kashiraj Trust, Varanasi, have undertaken projects of preparing critical editions of Purāṇas. The latter has published critical editions of some Purāṇas. The Purāṇa Vidyā Sansthan, Delhi, is "established with an idea to explore and publicize the cultural richness, trends and interactions of Indian culture as revealed in the vast Purāṇic literature." (Pushpendra Kumar, General Editor's Note to the book under review, p. 4). It has a tentative plan of publishing ten volumes under the title "Cultural Heritage from Purāṇas" (*ibid.* p. 5). M/s Motilal Banarasidaas, Delhi has launched a project of Purāṇa-translations under the series "Ancient Indian Tradition and Mythology" and the translation of some Purāṇas is already published. In the West in Germeny the Tübingen Purāṇa Project started its work in 1982 and "it has been institutionalized as the Seminar for Indology and Comparative History of Religions of the University of Tübingen" (Germany).

The book under review is the first publication of the Purāṇa Vidyā Sansthan, Delhi (*vide ibid* p. 5). There is a "Foreword" to it by Dr. H. V. Stietencron who refers to some aspects of Purāṇic research (*ibid,* p. 7) as well as the General Editor's Note i.e. Dr. Pushpendra Kumar's note.

Some studies on individual Mahāpurāṇas have been published and it is a pleasure to welcome this study on the Narasiṁha-Purāṇa (= NP), which finds a mention as an Upapurāṇa in the Matsya-Purāṇa (53, 59, where it mentions some Upapurāṇas as *upabheda*), which is one of the earlier Mahāpurāṇas.

The book under review "is an attempt to study various problems of the Narasiṁha-Purāṇa" (*ibid* p. 5) and the study is presented in seven chapters. The chapter I contains some general introduction to the NP. The chapter II

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 39, Nos. 1-2, Sept.-Dec., 1989 Issue, pp. 141-156.

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discusses the problem of the date of the NP and the author states that "the present version of the text may be assigned to about middle of the 13th century A.D." (*ibid.*, p. 16), while referring to Dr. V. Raghavan (The Date of the Narasiṁha-Purāṇa, *Purāṇa*, Vol. XV, No. 1, 1973, p. 144), who continues to observe in his said paper that "all three mss. used by the Bombay edition have this portion, but it remains to be seen, if other mss. have it" (*ibid*, p. 144). One misses here the author's comments on Dr. V. Raghavan's observation. The chapter III deals with the myths and legenets in the NP, while noticing their references in other texts without evaluational remarks. It is wished that the author will remove this lacuna in the second edition of the book. The chapter IV deals with the *pañcalakṣaṇa*—information in the NP. The chapter V deals with the Purāṇic cosmography and cosmography in the NP. The chapter VI has discussion in two parts (i) concept of *tīrtha* and (ii) a comparative study of *tīrthas* in the NP and other Purāṇa-texts. The Section I and Section II of the chapter VII deal with the concept of Man-Lion and with the cult of Narasiṁha respectively. In addition to the main part of the book there is a list of abbreviations as well as a bibliography; but one misses an index of words/authors and *addenda et corrigenda* where incomplete references like on p. 245, fn. 2, etc. could have been completed.

The tabular and geneological charts add to the visual facility and utility of the book, but with reference to tables showing marital relations, *e.g.* Table No. 2, which indicates the marital relations by "+" ("plus" sign) is slightly inconvenient. The "=" (sign of "equal to") could have been used profitably to indicate the marital relations between the two concerned as is done by sociologists like Dr. M. N. Srinivas and others and as is done in some cultural studies, e.g., by Dr. S. G. Kantawala ("Cultural History from the Matsya-Purāṇa," Baroda, 1964), Dr. N. Y. Desai ("Ancient Indian Society, Religion and Mythology as depicted in the Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa. A Critical Study, Baroda, 1968), Dr. Anantray J. Raval [Indian Society, Religion and Mythology (A study of the Brahmavaivartapurāṇa), Delhi. 1982]. It would be interesting to note here that the + sign is used for some other purpose in some works, e.g, the "+" sign and the "—" sign are used for chonological references *i.e.* "+" sign for A.D. *Eanno Domini* ("in the year of our Lord") and "—" sign for B.C. (Before Christ) (*vide The Pocket Oxford Dictionary*, Oxford, 1946, pp. 1017-1018) by Dr. A. K. Warder in his *Indian Kāvya Literature*, Vol. I (1972, Delhi, p. xvi).

In the "Preface" the author mentions some papers and works on Purāṇas. To this list one is tempted to add some works on Purāṇas (of course, the bibliographies on Purāṇas enlist them) in addition to one referred to above:— e.g. "Cultural History from the Vāgyu-Purāṇa" by Dr. D. R. Patil (Poona,

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1946)," Cultural History from the Kūrma-Purāṇa " by Dr. G. K. Pai (Cochin, 1975), " Religion and Society in the Brahma-Purāṇa " by Dr. Surabhi Sheth (Delhi, 1979).

The author, the General Editor and the Publisher deserve our hearty congratulation for publishing this work and we look forward to have many more publications from the author and other publications in the " Cultural Heritage " Series under the general editorship of Dr. Pushpendra Kumar in the years to come.

Date : 20 May, 1991
Baroda.

S. G. KANTAWALA

Non-Renunciation : Themes and Interpretations of Hindu Culture, by T. N. MADAN, Pub.: Oxford University, YMCA Library Bldg., Jaisingh Road, Delhi, 1987, pages, i-xii + 1-184, Price: Rs. 120/-.

The chapters of this book except introduction and chapters 4, 5 had been written by the author as independent articles which were published in different books and Journals. They are revised—" the revision ranging from minor corrections, alterations to extensive rewriting." The central theme—" *the worthwhileness of the life of the man-in-the-world* " is laid out in a specific structure evident in the sequence of chapters and is amplified by the author's interpretation and explication of behaviour-patterns of certain leading groups of Hindus. The aim of the author is laudable insofar as the reader is sought to be made capable of seeing the leading motif and cultural idea of renuciation in the Hindu ethos in the right perspective. His approach is that of social anthropologist with fresh theoretical and methodological outlook as he has based his judgements on actual field-work or observation of behaviour of Brahmins of Kashmir valley, Uttar Predesh, Orissa, Bihar, Karnataka and Tamilnadu. The book is about Hindu society though the thematic perspectives offered are mainly of the Brahmins as their values, beliefs and customs have spread to other castes and communities which produced a palpable cohesiveness among Hindus. In addition, he has also consulted some ethnographic, historical and sociological works and has ventured to support his conclusions on certain popular novels, which are according to him secondary interpretations of human behaviour, especially when one is at moral cross-roads and is obliged to choose between two or more courses of action that are open to him in real life. As an anthropoligist, he has tried to understand and explicate some prevailing notions and refined categories of thought in terms of which Hindus make sense of their everyday life to themselves. His method is descriptive and interpretative as regards the culture-laden or meaningful social

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relations, events, like birth, death, situations involving moral bearing and values such as auspiciousness, selflessness, piety, fidelity and the like. He seeks to formulate clearly what one has perceived but confusedly—a search into the flux of everyday life with the critical eye for significance and structure.

Under the broad rubric of "the good life," the author has discussed the high value attached to the life of house-holder in the ancient *Dharmaśāstra* and epics and evidenced in the lives of Kashmiri Brahmins, with equal emphasis on both domesticity and detachment, auspiciousness and purity, asceticism and eroticism—the two extremes sought to be overcome by the householder, desired and preferred, the ideas about well-lived life connected with good death. In the epilogue he discusses the fractured world of the modern Hindus which is a medley of ancient monuments and half-formed new structures. The new definition of good life is being framed in terms of borrowed western ideals of industrialization, progress, material prosperity, democracy, secularism and the like. The present situation of the Hindu is marked by uncertainties. As such a discussion about it cannot but be inconclusive.

The book is eminently readable, authentic and instructive. Though all interpretation is naturally subjective, the author has adopted an objective attitude while discussing the vital topics regarding Hindu society and culture. But it passes one's understanding why he opted for novels with regard to so central and important theme as asceticism and eroticism, when genuine examples of persons like Shri Ramkrishna Paramhansa and Shri Raman Maharshi were accessible to him. Much material in writing is available and their many followers could be easily contacted for information regarding the life and thought of these two eminent exponents of Hindu culture, so far as its motif of renunciation is concerned. Had he endeavoured to understand the teaching of these two personifications of the highest Hindu ideal, he might have concluded that authentic renunciation in Hindu tradition has nothing to do with external signs like ochre robe or one's status in society or remaining in house or in forest. It marks the realization of one's true identity as the Self—whose image is not different from God-image according to C. G. Jung, into which one's finite and conditioned ego is destined to merge and be lost. Man is not aware of the deeper dimensions of his own being. The unconscious dimension of man's being needs scientific exploration with all available techniques. One who succeeds in doing so, finds the Self as the principle of absolute Being and consciousness that abides in the heart of all creatures and is the very basis of existence.

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William Bright: *Language Variation in South Asia* (Oxford University Press, Oxford House, Post Box 31 Bombay-400 039, N.Y., 1990), pp. xiv+170, Price Not mentioned.

William Bright's connections with India, specially with the languages in the south of India, began long back during 1956-58 when he worked at Deccan College, Poona, and in Mysore under a grant of the Rockefeller Foundation fellowship. "One day in 1956, in Poona," he tells us, "a conversation with John Gumperz inspired me to explore the role of the socio-linguistic phenomena in language history."[1] "A new angle of socially oriented linguistics seemed to be in the making;" he tells us (in the Preface to the book under review)...."The field grew steadily from that time onward." (p. viii).

Language Variation in South Asia is a collection of William Bright's writings on socio-linguistic topics from 1960 to 1988 covering mainly the area of Dravidian languages (Ch. 1-6, 8). There is only one article on Indo-Aryan, 'Hindi Numerals' (Ch. 7). The last three articles (Ch. 9-11) are on Archaeology and Linguistics.

The main focus of William Bright's linguistic writings is language variation or diversity. "It seems probable," he said somewhat apologetically in 1964, "that no language is as monolithic as our descriptive grammars sometimes suggest; wherever sufficient data are available, we find diversity within languages on all levels—phonological, grammatical, and lexical." (p. 11) We find the thought put forward with greater force when Meillet penned the first sentence of his lectures in 1906: "Nowhere is complete linguistic unity to be found."[2] Unluckily linguistics in America during the period 1940-60 had already lost its moorings in European linguistics. The only linguist whom it revered was Bloomfield and the tradition he had created came to be known as neo-Bloomfieldianism. For William Bright, however, "the loaf was leavened by what (he has) called the spirit of Sapir."[3]

We still find him writing hesitatingly in 1966: "Sociolinguistics is a thriving infant, but an infant nevertheless.. The literature is still meager in the subfield dealing with the linguistic correlates of social stratification....We still have no thorough phonological, grammatical, and semantic comparison of even a single pair of class dialects....Lacking such basic bodies data, discussion in sociolinguistics must often SUGGEST rather than CLAIM." (p. 37) It is only in 1988 ('Bright 1966' on p. 130 appears to be a misprint; it should be 'Bright 1988') in his article 'Written and Spoken Language in South Asia' (originally written for a conference in 1964) that William Bright shows a keener awareness of the restrictions of the linguistics of his student days: "In considering the complexity of written language in India, we were at a disadvantage in the 1950s—: the post-Bloomfieldian dogma was that writing was in fact only a secondary

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reflection of REAL language. It is in fact only in the last few years that many general linguists have begun to take written language seriously. ..The American 'structuralist' linguists of the 1930s through the 1970s were frequently involved in research on previously unwritten American Indian languages; perhaps in reaction to the 'philological' outlooks of their predecessors, they tended to emphasize speech, and to see writing as a mere derivative....By contrast, the school of transformational generative grammarians, who came into prominence from the 1960s onward, were concerned at first mainly with English....Generative phonology, as codified in Chomsky and Halle's *Sound Pattern of English* (1968) offered the startling proposal that English orthography ..could in fact be seen as very close to a psychologically real 'underlying representation' of English pronunciation; but again, the generativists tended to ignore the characteristics which DIFFERENTIATE the basic structure of written language from that of speech. Recently, however, a more balanced view, informed by sociolinguistic awareness, seems to be gaining prominence." (p. 131)

And thus we are brought to understand the relationship between archaeology and linguistics, as of old, to be newly coordinated. "I welcome such attempts to coordinate research in linguistics and archaeology," writes William Bright on p. 125. "Our hypotheses of linguistic history must not fly in the face of non-linguistic data," he warns, "but they cannot be DETERMINED by archaeological consideration." (p. 129)

William Bright's criticism of Walter A. Fairservis's six axioms regarding the relationship between archaeology and linguistics (1972) and his careful study of John Mitchiner's book *Studies in the Indus Valley Inscriptions* (1981) deserve commendation for they show that linguists have been roused out of their dogmatic slumber to devote themselves to problems which have been totally neglected for more than half a century. In this regard light has once more come from the East. "We had gone there (i.e., India) with backgrounds in post-Bloomfieldian structural linguistics," writes William Bright recalling his first visit to India, "but we had returned with the realization that new methodologies were needed to cope with such phenomena as diglossia, code-switching, widespread multilingualism and social dialect." (p. 130) One of the new methodologies of which he became aware was the Hindu tradition of oral transmission. Such a tradition not only existed, and still exists, in Vedic recitation. It manifests itself in ritual practices of the Brahmin priests, in pedagogical practices of teaching arithmetical tables, and in the grammarians' teaching of Pāṇini. These "capacities of human memory" are fast getting lost under the impact of European educational practices. "There is reason to believe that the capacities of human memory, though they may have been neglected and downgraded by modern European societies, are in fact—with proper training— capable

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of the prodigies of retention which have long been customary in Hindu culture." (p. 144) In this context William Bright talks of " awesome feats of memory " and of our thinking of such culture " sociolinguistically, in terms of ATTITUDES toward speech vs writing as alternative manifestations of language." (p. 145) We urge upon him in the light of his own remark to re-think his article on Hindi Numerals from this point of view as a social ' feat ' of memotive phonology shaped by practices of counting by ordinary traders and merchants in their day-to-day life in India for centuries. Rule-making can be as much a part of the unconscious mind in its language-learning procedures as in its counting numbers. In either case much is memorized. (p. 82) If *saaTh* ' 60 ' becomes–*saTh* after all elements and this is so easy to remember, a Hindi-speaking Indian finds it equally EASY to vary *tiin*, *iee-*, *tai-*, *tir-* in suitable environments by a rule of memotive phonology which has yet to be explored. Such a phonology devised the variant *ekaa-* of *eka-* and *dvaa-*of *dvi* in Sanskrit long back Perhaps all colloquial language is subject to such a phonology. Everything in language is not determined by rules of GRAMMAR; to think that it is to be a victim of logocentrism from which sociolinguistics has to save itself and others.

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Gujarāti Bhāṣānū Aitihāsik Vyākaraṇ, Harivallabh Bhayani

Pub. Gujarat Sahitya, Akadami Gujarat State, Daftary Bhandar, Sector 17, Gandhinagar 3820 17, pp. 20 + 464, Price Rs. 45-00

O.From the last twenty years (Givon: 1971, Li: 1975, Lightfoot: 1974, 1979 and others) Historical Linguistics has seen a turning point as it enters an area of diachronic syntax hitherto not very well studied or to put it in other words the historical linguists started off from where they had halted. Modern

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Indian Linguistics in general hasn't had much to its credit in any area of theoretical linguistics. Considering this one can say that the book in question comes as a pleasant break through in Gujarati Linguistics by opening a new field of research in diachronic syntax. Hence there are two reasons why the book calls for a review: one is that the book is written in Gujarati and may not get reviewed for the general linguistic public. The second is that out of the two earlier reviews(?) one is simply atopical (Vyas: 1990) and the second is just the statement of summary (Desai: 1989). The Reviews of academic books are tough trials. Ideally a reviewer should possess an equal amount of authentic knowledge of the subject matter as does the author. And just the same (s)he should avoid induldging into the questions of trivialities of subjective matter. The kind of book in question here has to be looked upon from a specific angle i.e. of classical scholarships. As is very well known the classicism is on its way out. Bhayani (B) and very few others in the country can yet claim to hold this fort. Having no claim to such knowledge I have only tried to objectively see if the book can be proved to be what B has intended it to be. B's approach, all along in all his writings has been modern in the sense that he is not prescriptive and his familiarity with the modern trends is evident from them. At the same time the linguist in him is ' classical,' bringing out tremendous amount of wealth of diachronicity.

In this book B in a clear admission points out at the limitations of the work. Delimiting the scope of the work was incumbent upon him because of the baffling enormity of the old Gujarati prose writings.

I have divided the review into four sections: one overviews the material presented and the second tries to evaluate this by paving the way back to the past by tracing a couple of issues from this material. The third section notes some drawbacks of the book and the fourth gives a conclusive note.

I. The material is divided into six parts, each part representing the period on progressive time axis starting from 12th century. So the total period covered is from 12th century to 16th century i.e. beginning from old Gujarati stage and coming upto the part of middle Gujarati.

The divisions are marked by changes in forms although at no point in history there can be a complete discontinuity in linguistic forms. B has for each period taken some representative work(s) and for the manuscripts he has indicated orthographical peculiarities while discussing the drawbacks of the scribes. However this itself becomes a frightfully unweildy area of research, i.e. orthography vis-á-vis historical phonology. Though out of the scope of the book, scribes' hesitational attitudes and irregularities of forms are extremely useful for syntactic studies. B's knack and feel for unfolding these aspects play a very important role in the presentation of the material.

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The period of all the six parts stated chronologically would be:

Ist part	:	Second half of the 12th Cent. to the first half of the 14th Century.
IInd part	:	Second half of the 14th Cent.
IIIrd part	:	First half of the 15th Cent.
IVth part	:	Second half of 15th Cent.
Vth part	:	Beginning of the 16th Cent.
VIth part	:	First half of the 16th Cent.

Having introduced the work(s) of each period B covers grammatical material for the following topics : (B has noted his gratefulness to all the earlier scholars who have mostly dealt with individual works).

Nouns and their formation
Pronouns and their formation
Cases, inflections and post positions

Adjectives, Adverbs, Conjunctions, Exclamations, Emphatic forms, Tense, Modals, Auxiliaries, Mood, Participles, Causatives and Passives etc.

This material brings us upto a grammatical stage from where we get the feeling of familiarity—the Gujaratiness of the syntax is made evident. We, then know for sure that if several organistic changes are studied and connected we would get a clearer picture of the past of our language. At the end of the book B gives some of the tips which are highly revealing for diachronic studies.

The most outstanding feature of this material is in its 'relevance.' B's great strength is in his discretionary and decisive ability to isolate the grammatically 'relevant' material for Gujarati. From such vast, amorphons and ururuly literature of Prakrit, Apabhramśa and old Gujarati, he has sorted out and connected the examples which can lead the researchers to some 'transparent' part. In the next section I have tried to show the validity of the same.

II. In this section I am going to take two issues from B's material—one of the passive and the second of the first person pronoun. The question could be posed as to why I have taken particularly these two issues. In the answer I can say that 'passive'—karmaṇi—has been a topic closer and dearer to B's sense of grammaticality for years and that in all likelihood his suggested explanation about the development of karmaṇi in Gujarati would be proved very crucial for diactronic studies. Secondly after having gone through the material of this book I strongly feel that the issue of pronoun in subjective case needs very careful attention as the explanation for this pronoun can throw light on the history of the notorious ergativity of Gujarati.

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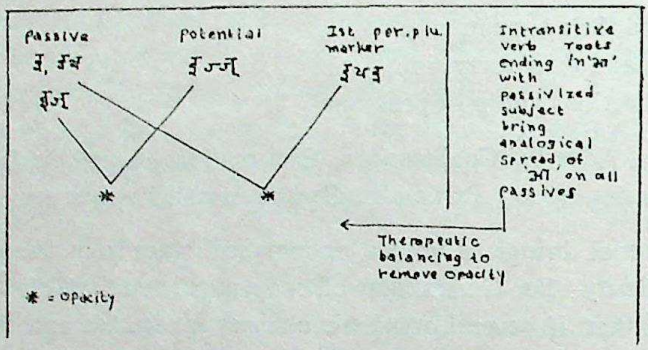
Coming to old Gujarati the karmaṇi forms were /इ य् /-इ/इज्-upto 15th century. In 16th cent. we get the forms with -आ too. This means that the karmaṇi forms did not have any final shape and so that way the potentiality of 're-analysis' was getting started. B has noted that the forms for karmaṇi markers were getting confused with इज्ज्- of potentials and इय् form of karmaṇi was losing its distinctiveness as the first person plural ending of present tense took the same shape -इयइ. While tracing the development of (karmaṇi marker) B has considered it to have resulted from intransitive verbal roots with -आ ending. The reason given by him are therapeutic and I would add to it that karmaṇi with three-four optional markers was striving to attain the equilibrium. At such a moment grammatical 'Reanalysis' has to take place. Therapeutic balancing proposed by Prague School explains the change in a convincing way. So I have given a flow chart to explain the karmaṇi.



The transparency principle (Lightfoot: 1979) prescribes a tolerance level of opacity—if opacity increases beyond this level the changes take place. Another interesting change comes in the case marker of subject. Here I will take the example of Ist per sing pronoun : The form मइं is found since 12th cent. for 'subjective' case but later in 16th cent. we get examples like following :

1. — . . . . . मि सांभल्या. (P. 295)
2. . . . . मि विशाल शय्या रची (P. 298)
3. . . . . मि केही पिरि लोपाय. (P. 306)
4. मि केही पिरि विहिवा कराय (P. 306)

Here the form 'मि' in nos. 1 and 2 is used with the past tense and in nos. 3 and 4 is used with the passive. The forms मि, मिइं, मिइ are optionally used in 16th cent. Right from 12th cent. onwards there is a visible unsteadiness in these forms, but nos. 1 and 2 certainly indicate the beginning of ergative case marking in the past tense. It also indicates that the ergative constructions must be post 16th cent. and must have taken couple of hundred years to get distinctly marked. Apparantly unrelated changes can affect different parts of grammar. With the ready material here I am tempted to work out many more issues but that would be beyond the size of this write up. With these two issues I have tried to show how the material of the book can provide a short cut for researches.

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III. In this section I have noted some of the shortcomings of the book. The book some how gives an impression of having been written in a fragmented manner. Some of the inconsistencies in presentation, or irregularities in the nomenclatures of topics, some of the typographical errors and some glaring anamolies are very irritating and rather unbefitting for the book on such a subject e.g.,

On p. 73. The grammatical material starts with a 'numeral' and the topic head is 'નામ'. On p. 108 there is no numeral and the topic head is 'નામિક રૂપ રચના',

So also in this presentation the nominal endings are tabulated while as in the earlier section they are not. The typological errors regarding the 'period heads' are not rectified and this can be highly misguiding. The collapsing of technical terminology gives an impression of 'noninsistence of precision' in the terminological usage.

IV. Nonetheless I would say that all these in no way distort the reader's knowledge of the subject, nor do they create any irremovable ambiguity regarding syntactic material. Here a comment on B's insistance on writing in Gujarati may be in tune. His modern Linguistic terminologies may not get the scientific status as they are hardly used. Any scientific term becomes or remains scientific if and only if the term grows in a scientific culture. This is an interesting field for metalinguistic research. B has relentlessly continued to write in Gujarati knowing very well that he can count his actual linguistic public of Gujarat on his finger tips. Hence his terminology does not grow out of the necessity of linguist's guild in Gujarat but it is resulted out of his individual capacity.

In the end I would say that this work goes as a permanent reference book in Indo Aryan diachronic studies.

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Vācaspati's Contribution to Advaita, By DR. V. N. SHESHAGIRI RAO; Published by Sri V. L. N. Rao for Samvita Publishers, Jayanagar, Mysore-14, 1984 Pages-212, Price : Rs. 75, Special bound; Rs. 60, Ordinary.

The work is Dr. V. N. Sheshagiri Rao's Ph.D. thesis in print. The author successfully attempts to present systematic and analytical study of the contribution of Vācaspati Miśra to Advaita Vedānta depicted in his wellknown work-*Bhāmatī*.

In the Introduction, the author briefly sketches personal life and works of Vācaspati as well as taking into consideration the views of various scholars arrives at the probable date of this reputed Vedāntin.

The present book is divided into eight chapters containing valuable discussion regarding important Vedāntic doctrines like Difference (*Bheda*), *Brahman*, *Jīva*, *Jagat*, *Mokṣa* and so on. In the penultimate chapter, the author gives an account of Vācaspati's distinctive contribution to Advaita specially with reference to the nature of *Avidyā*, *Manas*, *Śabda*, and the theory of *Avacchedavāda* advocated by Vācaspati. The final chapter contains summary of the whole discussion and presents critical estimate of the special features of Vācaspati's contribution to Advaita Vedānta. Each chapter is followed by useful notes and references.

The comprehensive study which the author has made of this prominent work of so prolific a writer as Vācaspati is certainly commendable. The detailed discussion regarding the theory of causation, the doctrine of *Avidyā* and *Mokṣa* would not only be useful to a student of Indian philosophy but also interesting to a general reader desirous to know about these topics as dealt with by prominent Advaitins.

Another noteworthy feature of this book is that apart from Bibliography and General Index it also contains the Glossary defining and explaining significant terms used in the Vedānta Śāstra.

The author and publisher deserve our congratulations for presenting such an excellent book.

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—UMA DESHPANDE

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'PŪJĀ—A Study in Smārta Ritual' by GUDRUN BÜHNEMANN, Publications of the De Nobili Research Library, ed. by Gerhard Oberhammer, Institute for Indology, University of Vienna, Vol. XV, Vienna, 1988, AS 450/ + mwst, pp. 253.

Though *Pūjā* in its restricted sense of only the 'Image-Worship' (*mūrti-pūjā*) has been a subject of great discussion and controversy due to various attacks and counter-attacks on the subject, yet for thousands of years, it has always impressed and pervaded the minds of majority of religious-minded people of India. It has not only been prevalent from ancient times, but is also still in practice (in some form or other) among most of the religious aspirants and adherents. Numerous books like Mitramisra's *Pūjāprakāśa*, *Āhnikasūtrāvali*, *Nitya-brahmakarmasamuccaya* etc., M. M. P. V. Kane's exposition of the subject and practical manuals (in Sanskrit and Vernaculars) are available on the said subject. But in the present study, the author 'endeavours to describe the ritual of *Pūjā*-especially the form with sixteen offerings or services (*Ṣoḍaśopacāra*)-with emphasis on the current performance of followers of the *Smārta* tradition in Mahārāṣtra. The type of *Pūjā* dealt with here is popularly also known as "Vedic/*Vaidika Pūjā*" (due to the frequent employment of *Mantras* from the Vedic literature) as distinguished from *Tāntric Pūjā* (which involves special ritual techniques).' In this way, the author introduces this book.

The present book contains a very systematic exposition of the material relating to the subject of *Pūjā* (and other varied aspects, connected with it), compiled from the authoritative and manifold original and secondary works, written in Sanskrit, English and vernaculars. The author has treated the said subject in three main parts. (1) General Remarks on *Pūjā* (2) Daily *Pūjā* & (3) Occasional *Pūjā*. In the first part, he has expounded quite systematically the general topics like Explanation of the term *Pūjā*, Textual Sources, Objects, Time, Authorization, Preparations etc. of *Pūjā*, Domestic and Temple worship, Number and kinds of services, Vedic and other mantras in *Pūjā*, Deficiencies in worship and atonements, *Pūjā* and *Karmakāṇḍa*, Aims of *Pūjā*, Mental *Pūjā* and lastly Modern trends etc.

In the second part, while expounding the Daily *Pūjā*, the author has followed the textual version of manual, used by the followers of the *Śākala* school of the *Ṛgveda*. Each and every procedure, beginning from *ācamana*, *Prāṇāyāma* etc. has been described very meticulously along with the original Sanskrit text (in English transliteration with appropriate diacritical marks) and its English translation.

In the third part, the author has dealt with the occasional *Pūjās* (*Naimittika* and *Kāmya*), the distinctive aspects like 'Infusion with life, *Pūjās* of the limbs

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of the Idol, *Pūjā* with leaves and flowers, *Kathā, Pūjā* of the Brahmin and Dismissal ' have been properly explained in it. Thereafter, the three occasional *Pūjās* namely *Satyanārāyaṇavrata, Ṛṣipañcamīvrata* and *Anantavrata,* which are still in great prevalence in Mahārāṣṭra are expounded by the author in a very systematic and scholarly manner. In the Appendix, that follows, the following topics are found-Illustrations to Part I, II, and III, Illustrations of *Pūjā*-utensils, Description of the Illustrations and list of *Marāṭhī* names of the *Pūjā*-utensils. While in the Indices, *Mantras* from the Vedic Literature (traced to original) and other *Mantras* are given in Sanskrit alphabetical order, alongwith the reference. The General Index of important words and topics is also presented at the end, which is of great practical importance.

The author has also given at the beginning an exhaustive and upto-date Bibliography of original Sanskrit works and other secondary books and articles, consulted by him for the present study.

The entire exposition of the author is systematic, authentic, elaborate and exhaustive. The minutest details are supplied with appropriate references to the original and secondary works on the subject. Despite this, some of his statements and remarks require consideration and/or clarification. He should note that (1) The procedure of *Ācamana* described by him is not only followed at the beginning of the *Sandhyā* and *Pūjā* rites (as mentioned by him p. 105) but also at the beginning of all religious rites. (2) *Saubhāgyadravyas* are offerred not only to the female deities (as mentioned on p. 156) but also to some male deities like *Gaṇapati* etc. The point whether the *Saubhāgyadravyas* are to be offerred before or after the offering of *candana* (or after *puspa*) requires consideration, as there is difference of opinion, regarding the same. (3) Among the ' objects of worship ', there is no mention of the Moon. The Moon-Worship is especially done on the Full-moonday of the month of *Āśvina.* (4) The author has referred to some works of Kāśīnātha Upādhyāya, but the *Devapūjākalpa* of the same author has escaped his notice, as it is still in manuscript form (being edited by the Reviewer). His remarks (1) " but these days it (the *Pañcāyatanapūjā*), is not so commonly found in Mahārāṣṭra and when it is mainly among the *Koṅkaṇastha* (*citpāvan*) Brahmins " . . . . . (p. 49) (2) " The current *Pūjā* in Mahārāṣṭra is mainly performed by women whose monthly course has stopped " (p. 217) (3) " Menstruating women . . . . . , are not to be touched by their husbands " (p. 217) are not convincing as (1) the *Pañcāyatanapūjā* is done by others also, (2) Exceptionally in some families, the *Devapūjā* is done by ladies, only because the male members of the family do not have faith or enough time for the same and (3) The menstruating women strictly speaking should not be touched by anybody, not only by their husbands.

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It is curious that pages 231 to 238 are repeated i.e. duplicated due to mistake in binding. The printing is almost exact and accurate, barring a few cases (e.g. Formally (p. 57), all (p 10 & 11), *Pañcarātrāgama* (p. 105), himself written for herself (p. 96). Paṇḍharpūr (p. 57), Santāpana (p. 78) etc. There is no errata in the book. In my opinion the reading '*Vihitamavihitam vā*' (or if I have not done the act, that is enjoined) can give appropriate meaning. The suggestion to read '*Viditamaviditam vā*' cannot be accepted, unless it is proved to be genuinely acceptable on the basis of manuscript evidence, in accordance with the rules of textual criticism.

However, the entire book, on the whole is very excellent and the author deserves our hearty congratulations for the same. It will not only give valuable and detailed information regarding this aspect of Indian culture to the English-knowing world, but also will enrich the knowledge of the same of Modern Indians, who are unable to understand original Sanskrit works. The author expresses his hope that "this study will be of some use to Sanskritists, historians of religion, anthropologists as well as to all those taking interest in ritual practices". We wish it will definitely be fulfilled by the book.

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Mythological and Ritual Symbolism: (A Study with Reference to the Vedic and Tāntric Agni) by DIPAK BHATTACHARYA; published by Sanskrit Pustak Bhandar, 38 Bidhan Sarani, Calcutta 700 006, March, 1984; pp. x + 243. Price Rs. 80-00.

The *Ṛgveda* has remained a fertile field of study from several points of view and approaches and the four-volume "Vedic Bibliography" by R. N. Dandekar bears ample testimony to the ever-growing literature on the *Ṛgveda* in particular and the Vedic Literature in general.

The Vedic mythology is very rich and "baffling ..are the myths and rituals which surround the Vedic gods." (*ibid*, Foreword by Govindgopal Mukhopadhyaya, p.v). Agni is one of the major, important and foremost gods of the *Ṛgveda* and it is a pleasure to welcome this present study.

The book under review is "a work prepared between 1972 and 1975 as a part of the Ph.D. thesis....The....part on the numeral four was taken out to make the work convenient for readers...." [*ibid.*, preface (by the author), p vii] for this edition.

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The study is presented in five chapters with respective sections and the chapter-notes are suffixed thereto.

The chapter I: "Introduction": is divided into two sections, *viz.* (i) Scope of Study, and (ii) Approach and Method. In the present study myths and rituals connected with Agni are dealt with and the discussion is centred on the concepts and practices relating to Agni for the "fact that inspite of changes that have taken place in the world of gods of India from the age of the Vedas to the end of the medieval age, this divinity (*i.e.* Agni) (bracket ours) has kept itself continuously important throughout the history of Brahmanism." (*ibid.*, p. 1). In the section on "Approach and Method" the author gives the linguistic and ideawise analysis, mode of expression and deals with *Ṛgveda* X & impervious layers *etc.*

The chapter II: "The Birth of Agni:" has ten sections dealing with topics, for example, *Ṛgveda* IV, imagery of cow and calf: flow of *Ṛta etc.*

The chapter III: "The Birth of Agni in the Agnyādheya": has eight sections dealing with the conspectus of the ritual, dual sense of certain words *etc.*

The chapter IV: "The Birth of Agni in the Tāntric Agnijanana": is divided into two sections. *viz.* (i) Tāntric *Agnijanana* and (ii) underlying idea. Herein the treatments is mainly based on the Śāradātilaka by "Lakṣmaṇadeśikendra who was a disciple of the Kashmirian master Utpalācārya (c. 10th cent.)....., with Rāghavabhaṭṭa's Padārthādarśa commentary (1550 Vikrama Saṃvat. c. 1492 A.D.)" (*ibid.*, p. 194).

The chapter V: "Retrospection": is divided into two sections, *viz.* (i) The Essential Difference between Archaic and Higher Religious Ideology and (ii) Some Theories on Myth and Symbol.

In addition to the abovementioned five chapters there is an appendix on the Reconstruction of AVP (=Atharvaveda Paippalādasaṁhitā, bracket ours) V, 2 and it is followed by a list of abbreviations, bibliography, index of authors, *index locorum*, subject-index and corrections and additions.

The author's approach is 'non-idealistic' (*ibid.*, p. 205) and the book makes an interesting and thought-provoking reading. "The author has both an open and critical mind which makes his study commendable," as observed by Govindgopāl Mukhopādhyāya, (*ibid.*, foreword, p. v), "though one may not agree with all his observations on the subject."

The book is a welcome addition and we congratulate the author and publisher for publishing this nice and useful work and we look forward for many more publications from the author's learned pen in the years to come.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

1. *The Word and the World* (India's Contribution to the Study of Languages) : By Bimal Krishna Matilal, Pubd. by Oxford University Press, Oxford House, Post Box 31, Bombay-400 039, pp. xi + 190, Price : Rs. 175-00.

2. *Language Variation in South Asia :* By William Bright, Pub. As above, pp. xiv + 170, Price : Not mentioned.

3. *Thinking Ritually* (Rediscovering the Pūrva Mimāṃsā of Jaimini) : By Francis X. Clooney, S. J., Pubd. by Institute Für Indologie, Universität Wien, Universitätsstrasse-7, A-1010, Wien, pp. 294, Price : Not mentioned.

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5. संस्कृत व्यवहार (Spoken Sanskrit) : General Editor—S. S. Janaki, Pubd. by The Director, The Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, 84, Thiru VI. KA. Road, Mylapore, Madras-600 004, pp. xxiii + 202, Price : Rs. 80-00, $ 15-00, £ 10.00.

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INTRODUCTION

Inching towards happiness is a natural instinct in all the species and human being is no exception to it. In his endeavour to get happiness, he tries his level best to fight against the evil spirits that hinder his safe path to happiness. With a view to removing these obstacles in his journey towards Bliss, he takes recourse to various orthodox means such as the help and grace of the gods through propitiation, some efficacious *mantra*s, certain tested *yantra*s and some acknowledged *tantra*s. But, this path beset with *yantra*, *mantra* and *tantra* is appealing more to the intellect of a very few chosen privileged persons. The majority of masses has to depend on some easy ways of getting their desired objects and here lies the importance of the visits to the different places of pilgrimage (*tīrthayātrā*).

The Purāṇas come very handy in this regard in that they abound in the descriptions of many such efficacious places of pilgrimage that can be visited by even the ordinary folk, not conversant with the highly philosophical principles of our religion. Under the pretext of visiting these places of religious importance, they get the double benefit of entertainment accruing from visiting different places as well as accumulation of religious merit, that stands them in good stead in their goal of attaining happiness or Liberation. Thus, with the help of the material means, a man can achieve spiritual upliftment too.

The Vedic Saṁhitās and the Brāhmaṇas do not mention any *tīrthayātrā*, neither this concept seems to have been in vogue in those days. The chronologically first reference to *tīrthayātrā* occurs in the Dharmasūtras. The *Viṣṇu Dharmasūtra* (2.16), forming a part of the Vedic literature, explicitly says that *Tīrthānusaraṇa* along with *Guruśuśrūṣā*, *Ahiṁsā*, *Kṣamā*, *Satya* etc. forms the *sāmānyadharma*s of human beings. This idea of visiting places of pilgrimage is further advocated by other Purāṇas and the *Mahābhārata* also. Thus, it was almost a religious injunction to go in for a *tīrthayātrā* in order to accumulate religious merit. In course of time, the Dharmaśāstra works also enjoined the *tīrthayātrā* as a means of getting religious merits by performing religious rites to be performed at certain very pious places, e.g. Gayāśrāddha, Saṅgamasnāna etc. Since the entire human life of the Hindus was regulated by *dharma*, it almost became a religious obligation to visit different places of pilgrimage. The hardships suffered during the hazardous visits to distant places during those days—when the facilities for transportation were very much rare and scarce—were supposed to be paving the way for the accumulation of religious merit. This philosophy of *śarīrakleśa* goes quite near to the Jaina philosophy of torturing the body for getting *Nirvāṇa*. This is reflected in the *Haṭhayoga* also and other bodily practices of the orthodox *Tāntrika*s too.

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The most important characteristic of the *tīrthayātrā* was the absence of any difference whatsoever owing to caste, creed, sects, age, social and economic status of the participants. In fact, *tīrthayātrā* was a unifying force behind the huge gathering of people belonging to the different strata of society. This can still be verified by attending the Pandharpur *Vārī* undertaken in Maharashtra by the followers of the *Vārkarī* sect. In Gujarat also, the *Vaiṣṇava*s and the Jainas arrange such *tīrthayātrā*s to their places of pilgrimage and the persons arranging or organising these *tīrthayātrā*s came to be known as the Sanghavis. In modern time, the famous Swāminārāyaṇa sect is based on the absence of any difference due to caste etc.

It may be noted here only that though the germs of the concept of *tīrthayātrā* are to be found in the Sūtra-period and the Purāṇas, much stress on it seems to be given by the Dharmaśāstra *Nibandhakāra*s during the medieval period, attaching more importance to the undertaking of such *yātrā*s to different *tīrtha*s with a view to performing religious rites. Gradually, *tīrthayātrā* became a part and parcel of the lives of the people, belonging primarily to the orthodox families. The impact is so great that even some non-orthodox persons also go on pilgrimage with some different purposes, besides visiting beautiful and historically important places.

The importance of the *tīrthayātrā* assumed so much of significance and dimensions that it became a practice with the scholars/authors to compose stories, fabricate anecdotes etc. extolling the efficacy/importance of different places of pilgrimage, which consequently attracted huge crowds. This tendency gradually grew amongst many devotee-scholars, who composed various *tīrthamāhātmya*s after visiting those places. Thus, a new form of literature centering round the *tīrtha*s and their *māhātmya*s came into being and in course of time became an established and accepted class of literature. The present work, viz. the *Cetovinodanakāvya*, falls into this category, describing the *yātrā*s or travels undertaken for the purposes of performing religious rites at different places of pilgrimage (cf. *Karavīrāt kāśīm prati gatena pitryakāryārtham /*

Racitam cetovinodanam kāvyam // verse 809)

The present work, viz. the *Cetovinodanakāvya*, is primarily devoted to the descriptions of the places of pilgrimage that are scattered throughout the length and breadth of this Blessed Land of ours and which he actually comes across while on his way from Kolhapur to Kāśī i.e. Benares. It will be obviously clear that since this poem describes various places of pilgrimage, the work doesn't have a continuous and cohesive theme, but, every topic is a unit in itself. This piecemeal nature of this composition is the first limitation of our author in doing full justice to his poetic genius. He is literally handicapped because there is no flow of events, neither a systematic thread connecting one event with the follow-

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ing one. Hence his poetic capacity could not blossom fully—a vacuum that he tries to fill in with the help of his pedantry—an obvious consequence of his scholarship in many fields such as *Vyākaraṇa*, *Jyotiṣa*, *Dharmaśāstra* and above all, mythology, especially Purāṇic. His deep knowledge of mythology is amply seen/reflected when he alludes to mythological stories or references while describing a particular place of worship, rivers, mountains or the different *Kṣetradevatās*. These descriptions, however, do not shed much new light on the historical or geographical importance of the place concerned. One notable feature of these descriptions is that the author is very particular in giving the intervening distances of different places in terms of the *krośa*s to be traversed or the way or the path or the direction of the places. Another point to be noted is that the author is very much enthusiastic about giving the minute details while he is travelling towards Kāśī, but, he hardly gives much details of his return journey from Kāśī to Karavīra. The possible reason for this may be that he experiences the feeling of blessedness (*kṛtakṛtyatā*) after successfully completing the onerous *Kāśīyātrā* and accumulating a lot of religious merit by way of performing some of the enjoined religious rites at the prescribed places. As a result, he might have lost interest in the sundry matters, which mattered much before he undertook his hazardous journey as a debt to be fulfilled or repayed. Or possibly, he was in a great hurry to return and complete his account of the journey in its entirety.

Description of Manuscripts :

The following two Mss. are used for editing the present work, since, no other mss. of this work could be procured despite our best and sincere efforts. It is really a misfortune that we could not get any information about any other mss. of this work in our search through different catalogues of manuscripts. The *New Catalogus Catalogorum* mentions only one ms. deposited at the RASB, but, fails to refer to the entry of this work in the printed catalogue of the Oriental Institute, Baroda. Naturally, this can be considered to be our discovery. It is just possible that the present descendants of our author in Kolhapur, Bombay, Baroda and other places might be having some mss. of this work as well as other works of our author, but, our letters and reminders to them did not fructify in eliciting any useful and authentic information from them, neither could our letters get any reply from some of them. We personally met some of the descendants of this family at Baroda and Bombay, but, they also could not supply us any concrete information, except the booklets on *Ārārtikya* and the *Paritassthita-devakathanam*, for which we are very grateful to them. We are given to understand that now the Joshirao family is disintegrated and hence, there is no person who can give a cohesive account of their family history, especially, of the authors and their works from the last century. So, we are unable to say anything definite about the existence or otherwise of any of the works of our author. We

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hereby sincerely request the scholars to help us in procuring any mss. of the works or any useful information throwing light on the author and availability of his other works. In passing, it may be noted that we have spared no efforts to get as much information as was physically possible for us with our limited resources. We regret that we could not get any concrete information from Prof. Dr. G. V. Tagare—a doyen of scholars from Kolhapur, who has done much work on our author—except getting the name of his edition of the *Karavīramāhātmya*. But, we must mention here the fact that very lately we could lay our hands on the excellent edition of the *Śrī Karavīramāhātmya* by Prof. Dr. G. V. Tagare, which we have fully utilised for our Introduction. We duly acknowledge his help here.

Now, we turn to the description of the Mss.

(1) The *New Catalogus Catalogorum*, Vol. VII, p. 73 gives the following details of the ms.

Cetovinodanakāvya—contains description of places of pilgrimage, R.A.S.B. IV. 3095.

The full description of this ms. as given on p. 63 of "*A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection*" under the care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, by MM. H. P. Shastri, Vol. IV, History and Geography, Calcutta, 1923 is reproduced here for the interested scholars.

3095

8189, *Cetovinodanakāvyam* : Substance-countrymade paper; 10 × 4¼ inches; Folia-38; Lines-10 on a page. Extent in *ślokas*-900. Character-*Nāgara*. Appearance-fresh.

It contains descriptions of places of pilgrimage (such as Kāśī, Gayā, Prayāga, Citrakūṭa etc.) and the gods and goddesses therein.
Beginning :

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
नामं नामं वामं पिचण्डिलं लोहितं च शुण्डालम् ।
मङ्गलकारि महोऽहं तनोमि चेतोविनोदनं काव्यम् ॥

The following colophon and the post-colophon statements have been added in a later hand :

शके १७४५ चैत्र कृष्णप्रतिपदि पुस्तकमिदं स्वीकृतं यस्य तेन गोपीनाथनाम्ना कवे(कवें)-इत्युपाख्या(ख्ये)नेति से (झे)यं सर्वैः जनैः ॥

We are very much grateful to the authorities of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, for kindly supplying a xerox-copy of this ms. Its number in our collection is 27042 and is designated as 'C' in the printed text of this work.

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(2) The second ms. belonging to our own collection of the Institute bears the Accession no. 8209; folios 60 plus 2 (of the *Anukramaṇikā*); Lines-9 per page; *Granthas*-1000; size-30 × 10.5 cms.; Language-Sanskrit; Script-*Devanāgarī*; Date of composition-V.S. 1879; Śaka 1744, (i.e. 1822 A.D.); Age-Śaka-1745 (i.e. 1823 A.D.) This work is classified under the heading *Kāvya*, and is designated as B.

Peculiarities of these two Manuscripts :

We started our work with the Baroda Ms. When it was half-completed, we could get a xerox-copy of the ms. from the Asiatic Society, Calcutta. To our surprise, our scrutiny revealed the following facts :

(1) The Baroda Ms. has a long section on Indoor games, such as Chess, *Dyūta* and Playing Cards. Surprisingly, this portion which is really entertaining (*cetovinodana*) is missing in the Calcutta ms. It suggests that the Calcutta ms. must be an earlier copy of our work and the author must have incorporated this portion on games (along with their diagrams) while rewriting or revising his earlier composition. It means that the Baroda ms. is the second and revised copy of the Calcutta ms.

(2) Another important feature of the Baroda ms. is : Besides this additional material on games, there are many insertions of many additional verses in the margins of various folios. This clearly indicates that our author has recast his entire composition and added these verses which did not form the nucleus of this composition. While recasting his original work—which might have been hurriedly written on the strength of his memory—the author has also effected many changes in the wordings, ideas and the verses also, suggesting his displeasure (*aruci*) with earlier ideas, wordings etc. Here we find his conscious effort as a *kavi* to refine his language, ideas, phrases etc. The additions/ommissions are indicated in the foot-notes at their respective places.

The Kāvya Proper—A Synopsis :

The present work is primarily devoted to the description of the places of pilgrimage that are scattered through the length and breadth of India. While describing these places like Kāśī, Gayā, Prayāga, Citrakūṭa etc. he describes the gods and goddesses situated at those places along with their stories and characteristics mentioned in the mythology. It must be said to the credit of our author that he does not forget to give the minute details also of these places and other important things such as the intervening rivers, mountains, villages, lakes, bigger and smaller cities, with specific distances in *krośas* required to be covered for reaching those places. Surprisingly, the author describes from verses 173 to 409 different indoor games such as Chess, *Dyūta* and Playing Cards that used to be

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played by the *yātrikas* on their way when they found the journey to be tedious or boring. As is well-known, these games were sanctioned by the Dharmaśāstra as is clear from their references and descriptions in the Dharmaśāstra works such as the *Tithitattva* of Raghunandana Bhattacharya. This portion of the work is really and definitely '*cetovinodana*'—entertaining to the mind. The fact that this work was composed with a view to describing the places mentioned above is testified by a very significant statement by the commentator—a son of Bājiṛanta, possibly, a relative of our author—in his commentary named *Kuñcikā* on the *Sāhityamañjūṣā* of our author. The commentary on the fourth verse of the *Sāhityamañjūṣā* is given under for the interested scholars.

चेतोविनोदनभगिनीं सुवर्णरचितां नितान्तरमणीयाम् ।
निखिलैरभिलषणीयां कुर्वे साहित्यमञ्जूषाम् ॥ ४ ॥

The explanation of the word *Cetovinodanabhaginīm* is as follows :

चेतोविनोदनस्य देवतीर्थनगरादिवर्णनप्रमेयसुभाषितग्रन्थविशेषस्य भगिनीम् ।

The work commences with the *Maṅgalācaraṇam*, consisting of 33 verses. The first six verses eulogise the Lord Gaṇeśa—the *Ārādhyadaivata* of the Joshirao family. Though it is in keeping with the tradition of paying the first obeisance to Lord Gaṇeśa, our author does not miss any occasion to praise Lord Gaṇeśa, suggesting thereby that he was a staunch *Gāṇapatya*. In spite of this leaning towards Gaṇeśa, he is catholic enough to praise other gods and goddesses such as Mahālakṣmī of Kolhapur—the *kṣetradevatā* (verses 7, 8), Lord Śiva (vs. 9), Lord Viṣṇu (vs. 10) and Sūrya (vs 11). Thus, the *pañcāyatanadevatās* are praised. This indicates that his family also followed the orthodox practice of the *pañcāyatanapūjā* prevalent at that time. The topic of *maṅgalācaraṇa* ends with the descriptions of Tristhalī in general and Prayāga, Vārāṇasī and Gayā in particular, Gaṅgā and Karavīra. While describing these, he alludes to different mythological stories connected with these sites—a clear indication of his sound knowledge of mythology (vs. 13-33). The next seven *ślokas* (34-40) deal with the *anukramaṇikā* of the work. After that the author deals with *Kavivinaya* appealing to the scholars to forgive his faults and tries to account for his endeavour to compose such a kind of work (vs. 41-47). Then are described the matters connected with *yātrā* (vs. 48-57). The next seven verses (58-64) describe the importance of the Kāśīyātrā. The next verses (65-89) describe the minute details about the *yātrā*, the intentions of the persons undertaking the *yātrā*, the experiences—good and bad—of those persons, the difficulties faced by them etc. Then follows the *Sūryavarṇanam* (vs. 90-103), the general observations about the psychology and behaviour of the *yātrikas*, their activities etc. (104-114). Then follow the *Subhāṣitas* (vs. 115-166). Afterwards the author describes the daily practices of the *yātrikas* (vs. 167-183). This is followed by

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Candravarṇanam (vs. 184-196). Then there are some verses which describe the general behaviour of the *yātrika*s including the pastimes they indulge in for the digression of their mind (vs. 197-204). Firstly, he describes the *Buddhibala* (Chess)—the King of indoor games. Therein the two varieties of this game, viz. *Sabala* and *Nirbala* are described. During the course of this description (vs. 205-254), he gives all the necessary and elementary details of this game, such as the arrangement of the pieces on the chess-board, the rules about the movement of the pieces, the varieties of check-mates etc. The most significant feature of this description is the reference to earlier (and now known only by names) authorities on chess in the words :

जुबुभट्टबाजिपन्तौ रामानुजपुण्डलिकजयरामाः ।
एतन्मतानि दृष्ट्वा लक्षणमेतन्मया कृतं सकलम् ॥ २४९ ॥

This clearly suggests that our author did derive immense help from the works of these authors/scholars, which are now unfortunately lost to us. It does support our view that there was a separate tradition of chess-players/scholars in Maharashtra, at least till the time of our author (beginning of the 19th century). It is an irony of fate that no work of any of these authors/scholars is now known to exist, thus hampering the study of the development of this game, especially in Maharashtra. We solicit the scholars to help us in reconstructing the history of these games by furnishing useful information they might be possessing. The next indoor game is the *Dyūta* described from verses 255-386. There are three varieties of *Dyūtakrīḍā*, viz. *Tripāśadyūta*, *Dvipāśadyūta* (to be played with the help of dice) and *Sakapardikadyūta* (to be played with cowries). In this long description, he gives the rules, technical terms, the method of playing etc. as was prevalent in his time in keeping with the age-old tradition (See vs. 265: *Kurve dyūtakrīḍālakṣaṇamavalokya lokarītimaham*). The author is quite frank when he openly admits that he also does not know certain technicalities of this game due to the less currency of this game and advises that this game should be understood from those who actually play it (and understand its nuances). We quote the relevant verse no. 318 hereunder:

अस्य तु बहुप्रचाराभावादेतन्मयाऽपि न ज्ञातम् ।
एतद्द्यूतं त्वेतद्क्रीडाकर्तृभ्य एव जानीयात् ॥ ३१८ ॥

The *Dyūtakrīḍā* is followed by another interesting and absorbing indoor game of Playing Cards (*Patrakrīḍā*) (vs. 387-440). Only two varieties of this game are described, viz. the Hindu game popularly known as the *Daśāvatāri Gañjiphā*—which is very popular in Maharashtra—and the Mogul game, popularly known as *Caṅgakāñcana*. In the descriptions of these two varieties also, the auther supplies elementary information, such as the no. of cards, their shape,

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colours, the pictures drawn on them, their relative strength, the rules and the methods to be followed, the technical terms etc. While describing this game, he refers to the divergent views of scholars such as Raghunātha Vaidika (vs. 426) and the work *Padamañjarī* (vs. 439) of an unknown author. Unfortunately, the work by Raghunātha is not available, neither the *Padamañjarī* could be traced. But, their mention does suggest that they must have been current at the time of our author and these games used to be played in his times, possibly according to the rules drawn from these works. Nothing definite can be said unless these are retrieved.

After the descriptions of these games under the title *Yātrāvyavahāra*, the author turns to the main object of the work, viz. *Svapurānmārgavarṇanam*, i.e. the description of the route from Karavīra to Kāśī, that was traversed by our author (vs. 441-448). During the course of his sojourn, he passed through many places, came across many rivers and mountains and other places of pilgrimage which he mentions by their names popular at his times. An essay in identifying them will be very rewarding, though very difficult and time-consuming.

This part of the poem commences with the description of Karavīrapura, i.e. modern Kolhapur—the native place of our author,-Mahālakṣmī—the *kṣetradevatā* of Kolhapur, Pañcagaṅgāvarṇanam, Gaṇapati-varṇanam, Viṭṭhala-varṇanam, Kṛṣṇāṣṭakam, Nṛsiṁhavarṇanam—the *kuladaivata* of our author-, Veṇīvarṇanam, Nīrāvarṇanam, Indrāṇīvarṇanam, Bhīmāvarṇanam, Gaṇapati-varṇanam etc. (vs. 449-794). The author does not fail to mention the distances between two places in terms of the *krośas*. While describing the intervening places, he makes it a point to allude to the popular mythological stories, connected with those places. The next topic is the *Kaverāśrayakathanam* (vs. 795-801), which furnishes a fund of important details about the patron of the author and his genealogical tree. The last topic of our *kāvya* is the *Kaveḥ kulavarṇanam* (vs. 802-809) which describes the genealogical tree of our author. The verses 810-811 supply the details about the date and place of the composition of this poem. The last two verses (812-813) express the pious wish that let the gods and goddesses such as Viśveśvara, Mahālakṣmī etc. be pleased with this work and the colophon in only one sentence gives the age of the ms. (deposited at Baroda) which is followed by us in the present edition of the text. All these details are exhaustively dealt with under the heading : The Author and his date. Here ends the main work known as the *Cetovinodanakāvyam*.

A casual look at the contents of the poem is sufficient to make out the fact that this composition is a mixture or a combination of a travel-poem and the *Māhātmya* works, so common and popular in the Purāṇas. Herein, while describing the *tīrthas* and *kṣetras*, the author alludes to various mythological

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stories connected with those places. It appears that our author gives more importance to the mythological aspect rather than the surroundings, social or political aspect. This indifference towards the actual surroundings and social or political awareness is a differentia of majority of poetry in Sanskrit.

The Cetovinodanaśeṣa—An Appendix to the Cetovinodanakāvyam :

After the completion of the *Cetovinodanakāvya*, the author takes a review of his journey and composes the remaining portion of his poem, titled, *Cetovinodanaśeṣa*. He completed it in Kolhapur as he explicitly says in verse no. 74. The date of composition as recorded in the colophon of the *CVŚeṣa* is *Āśvina Śukla caturthī* of the Śaka 1745 (i.e. 1823-24 A.D.). Here he looks back at his journey like a lion looks (*Siṁhāvalokana*) at its back as it proceeds further.

Here in the *Śeṣa* (vs. 50 plus 75) he describes cities, rivers, *kṣetras*, mountains etc. His main intention, however, seems to be to describe Lord Rāma and Lord Kṛṣṇa, along with the places famous and holy because of their association (Ayodhyā and Mathurā respectively, as also other places). It may be said here that he describes the places mainly from the provinces of Uttara Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra—thus giving a general survey of the route which he followed on his return journey.

After the 75 verses of the *CVŚeṣa*, the author composed the *Ārtikya* of Gaṅgā, *Daṇḍaka* of Mahālakṣmī—extolling her qualities in a very long piece of *gadya* composition which is termed as a *Daṇḍaka*, *Ārārtikya* of Mahālakṣmī, the *kṣetradaivata* of Kolhapur and the *Ārati* of Nṛsiṁha—the *ārādhyadaivata* of the Joshirao family. Thus the author follows the tradition of completing his composition with the invocation of the deities. It is well-known that the *Ārārtikya* suggests the completion of an act such as *Pūjā* etc. and this particular poem in this case. It resembles a *Bharatavākya* at the end of a Sanskrit Drama and is as good as a *Pūrṇāhūti-homa* in a *yajña*.

The Author :

His Biography, Other Works and Date : Our author is very much particular in supplying the details of his patron as well as his own family—really, a rare thing found in Sanskrit literature. From this point of view, the verses 795-813 are very important, as they supply a fund of information—biographical as well as historical—concerning the details about the genealogy of his patron, his own family, the place and the date of the composition and completion of this work, which we summarise below :

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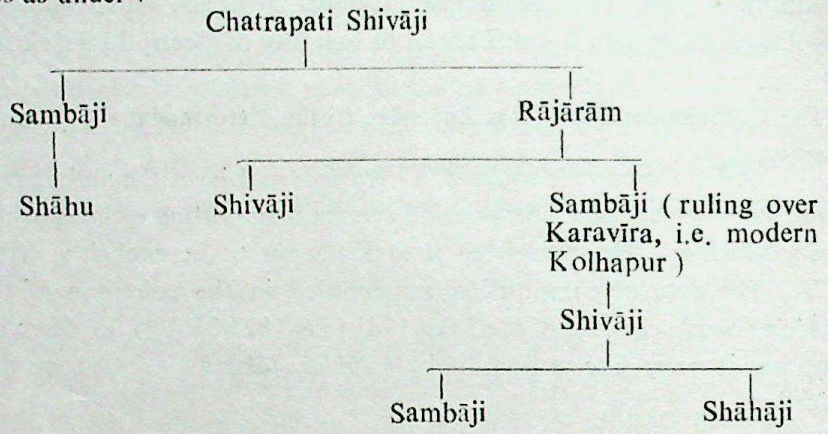
Our author was a protege of Shāhāji, the King of Kolhapur and the great great grand son of Chatrapati Shivāji, who started his own Era. The family-tree of his patron is as under :



This last mentioned Shāhāji ascended the throne of Kolhapur in 1822 A.D. and breathed his last on 29-11-1838. He was the patron our author, who composed this poem in Śaka 1744, Vikram Saṁvat 1879, which corresponds to 1822-23 A.D.

The Joshirao Family and Its History :

The original surname of the family of our author was Savadagar and his *gotra* was Śāṇḍilya. Nṛsiṁha was the family-deity, while Gaṇapati was the *ārādhya-daivata*. This family of Citpāvana Brahmins hailed originally from Sangameshvar in Ratnagiri district from Konkan in Maharashtra. The speciality of the members of this family was their proficiency in *Jyotiṣa*, so much so that because of their scholarship in Astrology, the family got the title *Joshirāya* (*Jyotirvid*) from the Chatrapati Shivāji. Subsequently, it changed to Joshirao—the modern surname of that family.

The late Jagannath Raghunath Ajgaonkar, gives a detailed historical account (from pages 457-462) in his excellent book in Marathi, entitled, " *Maharashtra Kavicharitra,*" part I, Bombay, 1907, published by Damodar Savlaram and company. We summarise here the important contents from it.

During the regime of Chatrapati Shivāji, there lived a Citpāvana Brahmin, named Ballālrāo, in Sangameshvar in Ratnagiri district in the Konkan in Maharashtra. He was a devotee of Lord Nṛsiṁha and was an expert astrologer. When Ballālrao found it difficult to maintain his family in Konkan, he went to Kāśī (Benares) and became a disciple of a great saint, Ballālayati by name. After spending some years in the company of his preceptor, Ballālrāo returned to the Deccan and met Chatrapati Shivāji. The qualities of Ballālrāo, especially, his scholarship in the science of astrology, impressed the Chatrapati so much that he conferred the title *Joshirāya* on Ballālrāo and patronized him. In course of time, their relations became so close that Ballālrāo almost became his confidant.

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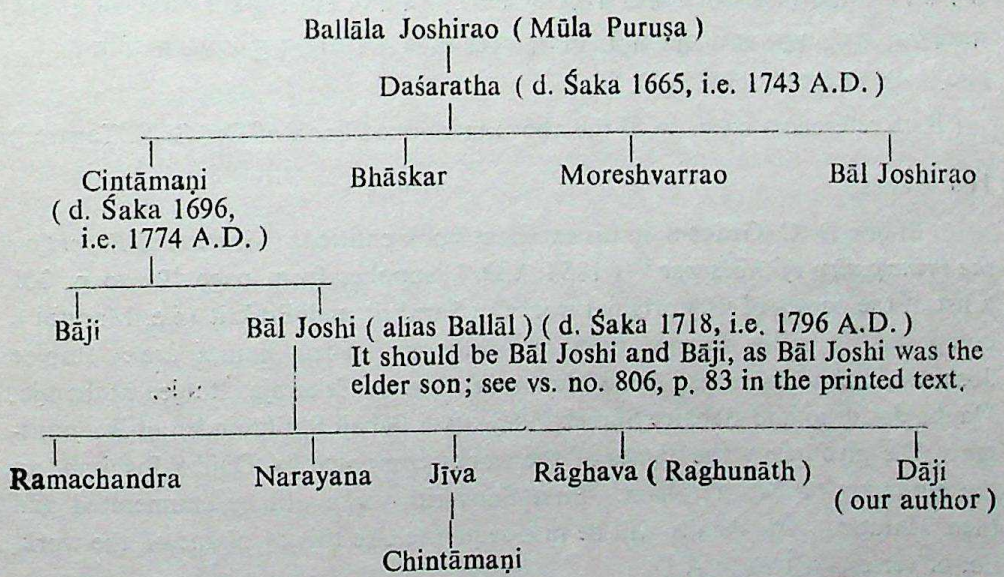
Chatrapati Shivāji had so much of confidence in Ballālrāo that he used to consult Ballālrāo on matters connected with warfare. Ballālrāo used to predict certain things about the wars and the Chatrapati would plan his strategy accordingly. (That the Chatrapati used to be crowned with success in his endeavours need not be specially mentioned). Unfortunately, after the death of the Chatrapati and during the reign of Sambhāji and Rājārām, what happened to the Joshirao family is anybody's guess (as historical account is not available for that period of turmoil), because, in the absence of any authentic information, no statement will hold any water. Fortunately, Tārābāī, the wife of Rājārām, established her kingdom at Kolhapur in 1709 A.D. and patronized the then known member—possibly, Daśaratha, the son of Ballālrāo—of the Joshirao family. Tārābāī—knowing full well that he belongs to a well-known family of astrologers and has inherited that lore, consulted this Joshirao regarding the exact location of her palace in Kolhapur. He advised her that if the palace faces North, it will be conducive to the prosperity of the Royal Family. Accordingly, the palace was constructed and a big palatial building behind this royal palace was got constructed for the Joshirao family. Our author and now his descendants also have been staying there only. It is an irony of fate that the present descendants of our author hardly know (or even if they know, they are not ready to part with that information) anything about the works composed by the scholars from this family, neither the present-day descendants could supply any authentic family details to the present editors of this work.

The family tree of our author as given by Shri Ajgaonkar is as follows :



" The dates of the deaths of these persons are based on the genealogy of Joshirao family kindly supplied to me by Annasaheb Joshirao of Kolhapur. "

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(Ref. p. 16, f.n. no. 30 of *Śrī Karavīramāhātmya*, edited by Prof. Dr. G. V. Tagare, Shivaji University Sanskrit and Prakrit Series, Vol. 5, Kolhapur, 1980).

It may be noted here that Dr. Tagare fails to mention the name of Bāji, the second son of Chintāmaṇi and the younger brother of Bāl Joshi alias Ballāla (which is mentioned by Dajiba in our *kāvya*). Dr. Tagare, however, supplies some additional information of historical value about the Joshirao family. " Dajiba was born in the famous family of the royal astrologers, designated as Joshirao, as a member of the family. Bāl alias Ballāl correctly predicted the exact date of the fall of Shirol, which was besieged by the army of Sambhāji II of Kolhapur. Read :

वेदमूर्ती राजश्री बाल जोसी चिन दशरथ जोसी उपनाम सवदागर गोत्र शांडिल्य[शांडिल्य]सूत्र आश्वलायन यांसी दील्हे वतनपत्र यैसेजे. तुम्ही स्वामीचे पुरातन येकनिष्ट सेवक. तुमचे वडील वडीलापासून तीर्थरूप तीर्थरूप राजश्री कैलासवासी महाराजाजवली सेवे[वा]नीष्टेने करीत आले व तुम्हीही स्वामीचे सेवा येकरूप नीष्टेने करीत आहां. स्वामी विना अन्य जाणत नाही. स्वामीनी तुम्हास जो प्रश्न केला तो तुम्ही सांगीतल्याप्रमाणे स्वामीच्या प्रत्ययास आला.....तुम्ही सीधांत करून ज्या दिवशी ठाणे हस्तगत होईल म्हणून सांगितले व लीहून दिल्हे होते त्याप्रमाणे त्या दीवशी ठाणे हस्तगत झाले.

—ताराबाईकालीन कागदपत्रे, Vol. II. pp. 244-45, Shivaji Uni., 1970.

The text of the grant of " Sarjyotisi Watan " States :—

तुम्ही ज्योतिशी विद्यावंत सिधांतवेते ज्योतिषविद्यानिपुण यास्तव स्वामी तुम्हावर कृपाळू होऊन स्वामीच्या राज्यातील सरजोतीषपणाचे वतन श्री चे उदक घालून धारादत्त करून दील्हे असे. या वतनास कानु काईदे याची मोईन करू दील्ही असे. सदरहू सरजोतीषपणाचे वतन स्वामी तुम्हास वंशपरंपरेने सुरक्षीत चालवतील. तुम्ही वतन आनभवीत जाणे. निदेश समक्ष तेरीख २९ शाबान सु॥ सलास अर्बैन
(i.e. 18th October, 1742 A.D.).

(Both references on p. 16 of the above mentioned book of Dr. G. V. Tagare.)

His Works :

Major D. C. Graham in his excellent book entitled, " *Statistical Report on the Principality of Kolhapur* " (1854 A.D.), supplies from page 197 to p. 201 a list of the names of 104 original works in Sanskrit and Prakrit (i.e. Marathi), composed by seven learned men of Kolhapur. Their names are : Raojee Joshirao, Baba Maharaja, Nana Maharaja, Bapoo Maharaja, Raojee Maharaja, Dajiba Joshirao and Babajee Shreekundey, (i.e. Babaji Shrikhande) of Bhoodurgur. We give below the names of the works composed by Dajiba Joshirao, on the authority of Mr. Graham. First Sanskrit works will be enumerated and then Marathi. The details will be in a sequenee like this : Name of the work, no. of verses, written in A.D.

(1) *Cetovinodana*	1600	1823
(2) *Chittānanda*	4300	1826

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(3)	*Modakayamakayutāryā*	—	1828
(4)	*Rāmeśvarayātrā*	1000	1828
(5)	*Lakṣmyalaṅkāra*	175	1829
(6)	*Lakṣmīvarṇanam*	150	1830
(7)	*Kārtikaswāmiyātrā*	850	1830
(8)	*Gaṇapatistotra*	900	1832
(9)	*Mahālakṣmīparitassthita-devakathanam*	50	—
(10)	*Alaṅkāraśāstra* (This possibly is the work known as *Sāhityamañjūṣā*)	700	1825
(11)	*Jyotirliṅgayātrā*	675	1839
(12)	*Viśvaguṇādarśāṭīkā*	5000	1842
(13)	*Āryā*s on Ambabaee	—	—
(14)	*Gokarṇayātrā* (2000 according to Dr. Tagare)	225	1842
(15)	*Aṣṭavināyakayātrā*	2000	1840
(16)	A panegyric on the different members of Ambabaee	—	1844
(17)	*Karavīramāhātmya-ṭīkā*	10000	1850
(18)	Mental devotion of Ambabaee	—	—
(19)	*Buddhibalakāvya* (possibly a description of chess occurring in the present text)	—	—
(20)	*Śakunaśāstra* (Rules for finding good and bad omens)	—	—
(21)	*Yoginīdaśā*	—	—

The Prakrit, that is, Marathi works are as under :

(1)	*Karavīramāhātmya*	8000	—
(2)	*Malhārimāhātmya*	385	1843
(3)	*Kārtikamāhātmya*	79	1839
(4)	*Gālavākhyāna*	87	1833
(5)	*Iśastotra*	40	1830
(6)	*Vīrabhadramāhātmya (Āryā)*	456	1828
(7)	*Sītājanma*	44	1836
(8)	*Ekādaśīmāhātmya*	300	1842
(9)	*Sulocanākhyāna*	100	1833
(10)	*Śivapārvatīvivāha (Āryā)*	125	1843
(11)	*Māruti-balarāmayuddha (Āryā)*	90	1832
(12)	*Vīrabhadramāhātmya (Ovī)*	774	1829
(13)	*Rāma-añjanībheṭa (Āryā)*	54	1835
(14)	*Chopaḍāi-jyotibā (Āryā)*	43	1840
(15)	*Kṛṣṇadāna (Āryā)*	65	1833
(16)	*Ahirāvaṇa-mahirāvaṇākhyāna*	99	1833

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(17)	*Vatsalākhyāna*	174	1829
(18)	*Mayūradhvajākhyāna*	75	1831
(19)	*Śriyāḷākhyāna*	49	1850
(20)	*Candrahāsākhyāna*	134	1832
(21)	*Āryās* on Ambabace	15	—
(22)	*Adbhutarāmāyaṇa* (*Āryā*)	701	1837
(23)	*Māruṭistuti*	—	—
(24)	*Lavakuśākhyāna* (*Āryā*)	331	1834
(25)	*Kedāramāhātmya* (*Āryā*)	—	—

(This is not mentioned in the Graham's book, but, in that of Ajgaonkar).

Shri Ajgaonkar could lay his hands on only the following seven books in Marathi, viz. *Karavīramāhātmya*; *Vīrabhadrākhyāna* (both these works in *Ovī* metre); *Vīrabhadramāhātmya; Adbhutarāmāyaṇa*; *Kedāramāhātmya*; *Kārtikamāhātmya* and *Lavakuśākhyāna* (all in *Āryā* metre). He mentiones that he could not get the other 18 Marathi works in the private collections of Joshirao family. Since Shri Ajgaonkar was interested in Marathi works only, he seems to have paid no attention to Sanskrit works. It may be noted here that the Marathi *Karavīramāhātmya* has been edited by Pt. Balacharya Khuperkar and published by Moghe Prakashan, Kolhapur, in Śaka 1895 (i.e. 1973 A.D.).

A few words about the availability of the Sanskrit works of Daji Jyotirvid may not be out of place here.

(1) Prof. Dr. G. V. Tagare of Sangli informs us that he possesses a rare manuscript of a certain *Bhāṇa*, composed by Dajiba Joshirao, our author. Dr. Tagare did not mention the name of the *Bhāṇa* in his letter. He further informs that despite his efforts, he could not get any other copy in the form of manuscript of this work. He is also very much sore about the fact (of course annoying to a scholar) that he could not get any material in the form of mss. of the works of Dajiba Joshirao from the present descendants of the Joshirao family.

(2) The *Karavīramāhātmyaṭīkā* in Sanskrit :

Dr. Tagare has critically edited the *Karavīramāhātmyaṭīkā* in Sanskrit composed by Daji Jyotirvid. But, he laments, " In fact, it is unfortunate that such a lucid and authoritative commentary could not be published for lack of funds " (Ref. p. 18 of his edition of *Karavīramāhātmya*).

(3) *Ārārtikyapañcakadvayam :*

This booklet containing five *Ārati* songs by Chintāmaṇi Joshirao and five *Ārati* songs by Dajiba Joshirao was published by Narayan Vinayak Joshirao of Kolhapur. (We are unable to supply the details such as the date of the

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publication etc. as the copy lent to us by Shri Ashok R. Joshirao of Baroda has no title page and other details). In his *prastāvanā*, he says " the *Karavīramāhātmya* in Sanskrit is published and is easily available ". But, unfortunately, we could not lay our hands on this voluminous work showing the depth of the erudition of our author. We are very thankful to Shri A. R. Joshirao for his kind gesture.

(4) *Śrīmahālakṣmīparitassthitadevakathanam* :

Shri Lambodar Vinayak Joshirao of Mahim, Bombay, 16, gave us a copy of this booklet, published in 1984 by Shri S. V. Joshirao of Kolhapur. This booklet contains 38 Sanskrit verses (along with their Marathi translation) describing the other deities in the vicinity of Mahālakṣmī. We are grateful to Shri L. V. Joshirao for his kind gesture.

(5) *Sāhityamañjūṣā* :

A manuscript of this work is deposited in the rich collection of the Oriental Institute, Baroda and bears the accession no. 8205, containing 47 folios. As the name suggests, this work is devoted to the treatment of the topics coming under *Sāhityaśāstra*. While going through the work, it came to our notice that the author deals more with prosody than with other important aspects of *Sāhityaśāstra*.

The work is divided into six *adhyāyas*, viz. *Sañjñādhyāya*; *Samavṛttādhyāya*; *Ardhasamavṛttādhyāya*; *Viṣamādhyāya*; *Āryādimātrāchandonirūpaṇādhyāya* and *Pratyayādhyāya*. In very short, the author discusses some famous *Kāvyaguṇas*, *Kāvyadoṣas* and *Arthālaṅkāras* etc. The work is so difficult and terse that it cannot be understood without a commentary. Fortunately, there is a commentary named *Kuñcikā*—written by the son of one Bājīpanta, possibly, a relative of our author—on this work. A manuscript of this rare work is also available in the collection of the Oriental Institute and the present editors intend to critically edit this work also.

(6) *Cetovinodanakāvyam* :

The last of the presently available works is the critical edition of this *kāvya*, which is brought to light for the first time by us.

A few remarks on the works of our author will be welcome. It is very surprising that except in the *Sāhityamañjūṣā*, in no other work our author mentions the names of any of his works. It is equally strange and ironical that we do not get any original and authoritative work on *Jyotiśśāstra*—the forte of the Joshirao family—from the pen of our author, neither from the pen of any other scholar from his family. Hence, we are really deprived of the scholarship

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in *Jyotiṣa* of this author or any member of his family. We do hope that in future, a scholarly work on this subject from the scholars of this family may come to light, gladdening the world of researchers. Till that time, our treatment is sufficiently exhaustive and informative too.

Another fact that can be noticed from the list of his works is : except the *Sāhityamañjūṣā* there is no other work on any serious subject like, *Vedānta*, *Vyākaraṇa* or any other *śāstra*. In this respect, there is no solid and original contribution from our author towards the furtherance of knowledge of any *Śāstra*—a fact which annoys us, but, we cannot deny it.

Date :

Shri Ajgaonkar in his Marathi book, "*Mahārāṣtra Kavicaritra*", Part I, says that Dajiba Joshirao flourished from 1800 to 1855, while Shri S. V. Joshirao from Kolhapur, the publisher of the booklet, viz. "*Śrīmahālakṣmī-paritassthitadevakathanam*" mentions his period as 1800-1865 approximately. But a look at the dates given by Mr. Graham in his book, "*A Statistical Report on the Principality of Kolhapur*" will make it clear that the literary activity of Dajiba started in 1823 A.D. with the composition of the *Cetovinodanakāvyam* and ended in 1850 with the scholarly commentary in Sanskrit on the *Karavīra-māhātmya* and the composition of the *Śrīyāḷākhyāna* in Marathi. The colophon of the *CVkāvyam* also points to the exact date of the work, thus, corroborating the period of his literary activity.

Scholarship of the Author :

A glimpse at the various types of compositions in Sanskrit and Marathi of our author is sufficient to say that our author was a versatile genius and his scholarship in different fields is reflected in his works. We may, in brief, concentrate on his Sanskrit works with special reference to the *CVkāvyam* only. Before discussing this point, we may say that our author is the chip of the old block and a worthy member of the illustrious Joshirao family.

As the title Jyotirvid and his family surname Joshirao indicate, our author was primarily a *jyotiṣi* by tradition and profession. But as was the practice in olden days, he was equally a good scholar in other fields of learning too, such as *Vyākaraṇa Āyurveda, Kāvyaśāstra, Chandaśśāstra, Purāṇakathās* (Mythology) etc. This is abundantly clear from the various references that occur throughout the text. In a nutshell, we may say that our author is more a scholar than a *rasika-kavi*. A few examples will be adequate to bring our point home. The examples are chosen at random and the list doesn't claim to be exhaustive. Only the numbers of the verses in the text are quoted.

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Jyotiṣa : 131, 144, 152, 157, 159, 195, 438 (The author is well aware of the foreign technical terms assimilated in *Bhāratīya Jyotiṣa*), 587 (a very good *Navagraharūpaka*), 679 (Names of the *Yoga*s are enumerated with the help of *Śleṣa*), 706 (Five *aṅga*s of Jyotiṣa, viz. *Tithi, Vāra Tārā* (*Nakṣatra*), *Yoga* and *Karaṇa* are enumerated), 707, 708 (Names of the *Navagraha*s), 709 (Names of the *Nakṣatra*s), 710 (Names of *Karaṇa*s), 711 (Names of *Yoga*s not included in verse no. 679), 713 (Names of 12 *Rāśi*s—signs of Zodiac—are enumerated) and verse no. 28 on page 92.

Vyākaraṇa : 124, 132, 134, 139, 141, 143, 145, 150, 155, 166, 324, 326, 760 (beautiful use of *Nāmadhātu*s), 764 (the author commits a *Vyākaraṇadoṣa* for praising the river *Gaṅgā*).

Āyurveda : 631

Dharmaśāstra : 349 and 414.

Mythology and Dharmaśāstra :

Since the journey of our author was motivated by the Dharmaśāstra injunction, it is but natural that every now and then the author refers to the various practices enjoined by Dharmaśāstra. Hence, we get ample descriptions of the matters connected with Dharmaśāstra and Mythology, especially in the descriptions of the *Tīrtha*s and *Kṣetradevatā*s.

These frequent references to many mythological stories reflect his sound knowledge and erudition in the traditionally accepted branches of learning. At such junctures, the scholar in our author excels the poet in him. At some places, he refers to some stories which are obscure and ambiguous—thus hindering our smooth understanding and grasp of the stories. Added to this is his craze to use uncommon words, technical concepts, offering a variety of meanings—which is largely responsible for creating misunderstanding. This tendency of his has rendered the *kāvya* a difficult nut to crack. We have tried our level best to do justice to him by ransacking all possible dictionaries to get a feel of his *kāvya*. How far we have succeeded is left to the scholars' judgement.

History and Geography :

The Asiatic Society, Calcutta, includes this work under the category of History and Geography (See: the title page of the "*A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. in the Govt. Collection*" under the care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, by MM. H. P. Shastri, Vol. IV, History and Geography, Calcutta, 1923). This particular Ms. is included under the section 'Geography and Gazetteer.' The only valid reason for including this work under this category is—the descriptions of the different places of pilgrimage found in India which our author visited during his journey from Kolhapur to Kāśī. The author

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meticulously describes the different *Tīrtha*s and *Kṣetradevatās* along with the historical accounts and the distances in *Krośa*s between the places—major as well as minor. It is interesting to note that our author considers rivers, lakes, wells etc. as the limits or boundaries of the places—which is our traditional way or practice.

Critical Appreciation :

The day to day life of the human beings becomes very monotonous. In order to divert his mind from his tedious daily routine, a man takes recourse to different things. One such important thing is to undertake a journey to different places. It entertains his mind too. With this view, if a person undertakes a *Tīrthayātrā*, he accumulates religious merits in addition to the joy and experience of visiting unknown, beautiful, philosophically and mythologically important places. Thereby, he gets to know the customs of the different strata of society from many regions. It increases his knowledge and opens up new vistas. Our author also undertook a journey from Kolhapur to Kāśī in order to perform the *Tīrthaśrāddha* of his father. Since he was a traditional Pandit, he made it a point to put his experiences into verses as a record for posterity. It throws a flood of light on the geography of those times. Thus came into being the present composition—significantly termed as *Cetovinodanakāvya*—a *kāvya* composed for the entertainment of the mind.

In verse No. 79, the author mentions some of the objectives for undertaking a *Tīrthayātrā*. In modern times also, these purposes are almost the same for motivating the persons to go in for a *Yātrā*. The entire section commencing from verse 48 to verse 89 (*Yātrāsāmānyaniṣedha*, *Sāmānyasthāpanam*, *Yātrā-vyavahārasthityādi* etc.) is a clear testimony to the observational ability, scholarship etc. of our author.

After this priliminary section on *Yātrā*, he comes in his elements when he gets real scope as a poet and he avails of this opportunity for displaying his scholarship in different fields of learning, which is already dealt with by us in the previous pages.

When we turn to the actual text, the first impression that we get is that the author is more pedantic rather than poetry-minded or poetry-conscious in his approach. At every step, we are required to refer to a dictionary for understanding the exactness of meaning intended by the author, in a particular context. The craze of the author for using some ambiguous and uncommon words such as *Mastudrapsye*, *Udaśvinmathitam*, *Kālaśeya* etc. (verse no. 77) describing varieties of butter-milk—is an instance in question. It may be noted that this habit of our author is seen throughout the poem. This parading of his pedantry is seen more in the section of the *Subhāṣita*s—which are supposed

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to appeal to the heart of the general folk. This exercise of our author in word-jugglery makes us feel that he must have kept a dictionary before him while composing this poem. This tendency doesno't necessarily belittle him as a poet. His mastery over the language makes him indulge in *Śabdacamatkṛtis*, such as in verse nos. 479, 504, 505 etc. In fact, almost everywhere, he displays this tendency. In vs. no. 6 and 456, he uses all the *Vibhaktis* in describing Gaṇeśa and Lakṣmī, respectively, on the pattern of the famous verse '*Rāmo rājamaṇissadā vijayate*' from the efficacious *Rāmarakṣāstotra*—which is very much prevelent in Maharashtra. It may be said to the credit of our author that he displays poetic excellences by using extraordinarily beautiful ideas in verses like, 2, 3, 82, 90, 91, 92, 94, 95, 100-102, 129, 133, 185, 187, 190, 192-94, 488, 497, 501, 644, 655, 766, 776, vs. no. 7 on page no. 90 etc. Herein we can see his high-soaring imaginative power. Added to this is his effortless use of different meters, *Śabdālaṅkāras* and *Arthālaṅkāras*. These are not specifically mentioned here because they are scattered throughout the *kāvya* and the readers can easily relish their taste and be overjoyed.

As is already mentioned, our author is a Maharashtrian scholar. It is but natural that his Sanskrit shows some influence of his mother-tongue Marathi, e.g. the words *Daśamī* (vs. 171), *Krīḍaitu* for *Krīḍayitu* (vs. 215), Simvha (713), vs. no. 52 on p. 95 (*Bhikṣā nako paṇa kutre āvara*—This proveb is literally rendered in Sanskrit). So also the proverb *Kākhet-kaḷasā gāvālā vaḷasā* is Sanskritized in vs. 72 on page 97.

We conclude this short Introduction by expressing our deep sense of gratitude to the authorities of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta and the Oriental Institute, Baroda. Our special thanks are due to Dr. R. T. Vyas, Director, Oriental Institute, Baroda, for kindly including this work in the M. S. University Oriental Series as No. 16.

Oriental Institute, Baroda,
Dt. 2-5-1991

P. H. Joshi
S. Y. Wakankar

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चेतोविनोदनकाव्यस्य चेतोविनोदनशेषस्य च अनुक्रमणिका ॥

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इति चेतोविनोदनकाव्यानुक्रमणिका समाप्ता ॥

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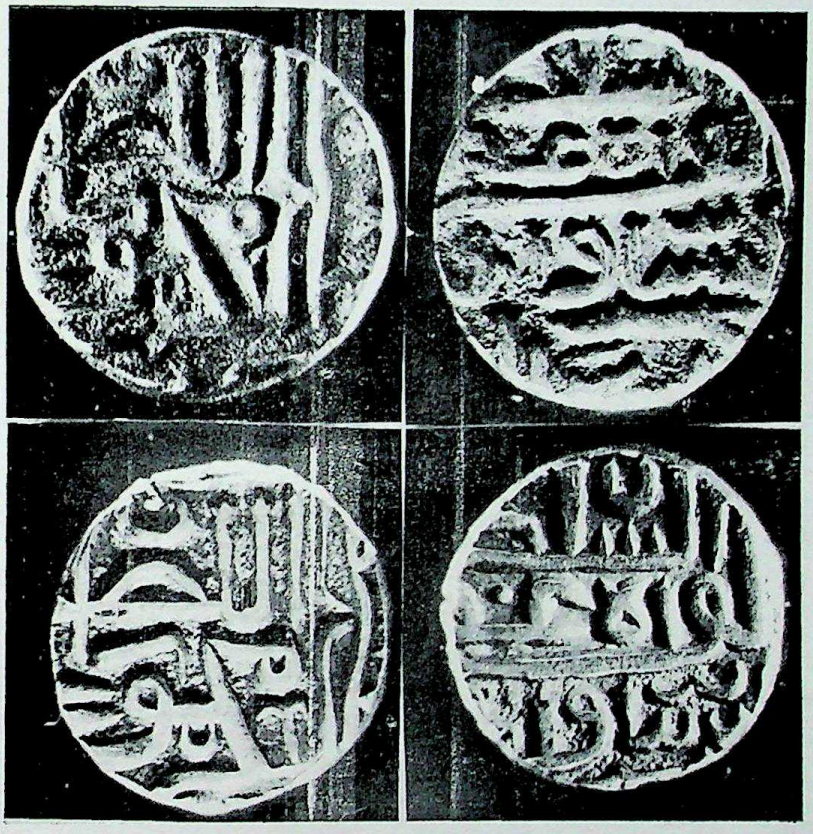
Coin No. 9. Ob.

Coin No 9. Re.



Coin No. 10. Ob.

Coin No. 10. Re.

Plate No. IV

Coins of Mahmud Shah (I) from Ahmedabad

(Refer to Lili Shrivastav's Article)

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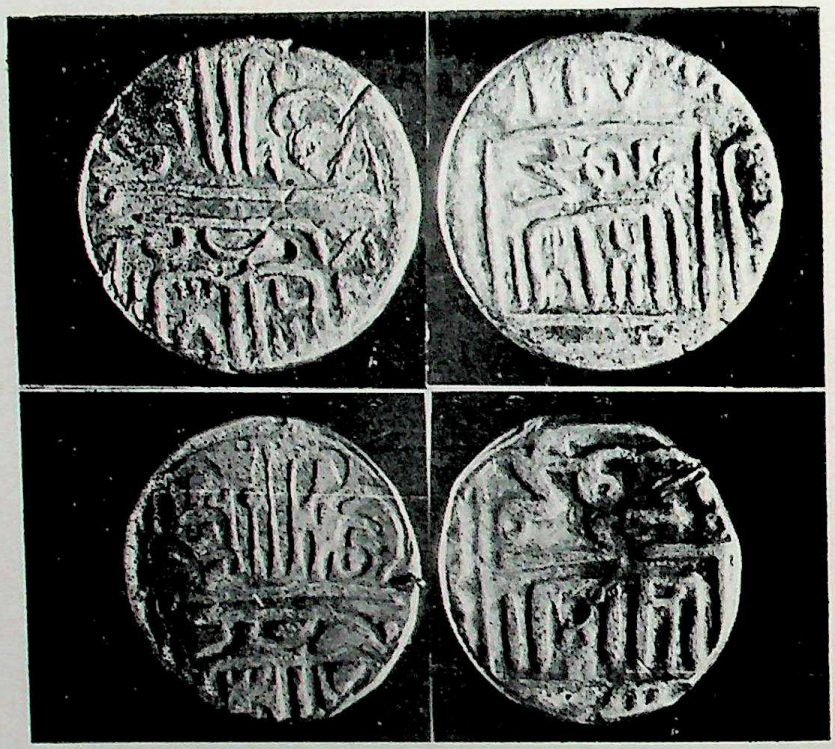
Coin No. 1. Ob. Coin No 1. Re.



Coin No. 2. Ob. Coin No. 2. Re.

Plate No. I
Champaner–Coins of Muhmud Shah (I)
(Refer to Lily Shrivastav's Article)

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